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Towards a history of a Senegalese brotherhood in Cape Town

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**A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of
the degree of Master of Arts in Historical Studies**

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Abstract

"Towards a history of a Senegalese brotherhood in Cape Town" studies the presence of the Muridiyya, or Mouride, order (*tariqa*) of Senegal in South Africa, the relationships of its members to other Senegalese migrants and to the population of Cape Town. It therefore traces the transformation of the *tariqa* under new historical and geopolitical circumstances.

Methodologically, within the limits of Historical Sciences, this research has been undertaken in the framework of oral history methodology. Following the Introduction and a chapter on the methodological framework, this essay goes on to give a brief historical summary of Islam in Senegal followed by an overview of Sufism and Sufi orders in Senegal, concentrating on the life of the founder of the Muridiyya, Cheikh Amadu Bamba, his teachings, his trials under French colonialism, and the growth in influence of the Muridiyya order as a spiritual and socio-economic group in Senegal. Thereafter it looks at the worldwide spread of the Mouride Diaspora and its characteristics.

Then the study concentrates its focus on the Mouride Diaspora to the Western Cape in the context of the general African migration to South Africa and of the historical Muslim presence in the area. Based on individual interviews of members both of the Muridiyya and the Tijaniyya *turuq*, and on visits to the *dahiras*, *zawiyas* and workplaces of Mourides and Tijanis, it analyses in detail the experience of the group, describing its key features and in particular the twofold spiritual-economic core of the group. It traces the evolution of the group through a period of 14 years and examines the relationship that it has with South African society and with the Muslims of Cape Town in particular. The final section deals with the Mourides' own perception of their contribution to South Africa.

In conclusion, this research points out that, thanks to its deeply spiritual and its economic principles, which emphasizes hard work, strong co-operative organization, and the consequent mutual trust among its members, the Muridiyya *tariqa* has grown and even transformed itself in Cape Town. It is dealing with infighting borne of its new context, and adapting to changing historical circumstances. Moreover, it can be seen as an alternative social way to respond to the difficult challenges that human beings face in our society.

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I. Introduction

The history of the expansion of Islam in sub-Saharan Africa is interlinked with the spread of Sufi *turuq*. The meaning of *turuq*, which will be discussed in more detail, has a much broader significance than its English translation, brotherhoods,¹ since, according to Vincent Monteil, the pursuers of this path are believers who have reflected on the Qur'anic verse, "If you love Allah, then follow me and Allah will love you"(III, 31)² and they seek for this love to follow a spiritual master or Shaykh.³ These men and women act within the framework of the *turuq*, each of which has a different organizational manner.

People coming from the Sahara have notably affected the propagation of Sufism in West Africa; Sufi traders disseminated their doctrine in West Africa from Mauritania.⁴

Ousmane Kane in his article "Non Europhone intellectuals" describes the progressive spread of the Islamic scholarly tradition in sub-Saharan Africa as being linked to the expansion of Islam and trading. According to him, five groups were the main vehicles of the Muslim scholarly tradition in West Africa: the Berber Sahaja, the Djula Wangara, the Zawah, the Fulbe and the Shurafa. It is significant that three of these main groups: the Wangara, the Zawah, and the Fulbe spread the scholarly tradition interwoven with the "sufi way." The Djula Wangara were inspired by the Qadiriyya and contributed to the islamisation of the Western Sudan and Nigeria throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Zawah from Mauritania taught the Qur'an as they extended the Qadiriyya and the Tijaniyya throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Fulbe, one of the most important linguistic groups in terms of numbers in Black Africa, played a significant role in spreading Islam from the fifteenth century.⁵ The Qadiriyya gave the Fulani Uthman dan Fodio, the founder of Sokoto *Khaliphate*, "the impetus for his political and educational movement."⁶

In West Africa, the brotherhoods have followed parallel paths that are separated by their different ritual practices. Although there are allegations that the brotherhoods are ethnically homogeneous, in general the *turuq* welcome people from different origins and countries, which help to interlace the social fabric of Muslim societies. Even the Muridiyya, the only *tariqa* of Senegalese origin, the majority of whose members come from Wolof ethnic origin, has many followers among other ethnic groups like Serer, Tukolor and Dyola.⁷

The Muridiyya, the most influential *tariqa* in Senegal nowadays, has awakened much interest within the research field. There are several reasons that explain this

interest among scholars. Particularly appealing for academics is the unity of the *tariqa* and its capacity for organisation around Cheikh Amadu Bamba and his representatives. The religious dimension of the *tariqa* has interested some scholars, especially among Senegalese and French specialists of Islam. Other academics have been drawn to another distinctive feature of the *tariqa*, hard work and economic success. However, the majority of the works on this subject come from scholars outside Senegalese society, who “ascribe to economic and political aspirations spurred by colonization the major causative and explanatory factors of religious social movements”⁸ and whose sources are mainly European. Only a few writers have used Mouride sources to look at this movement from a different point of view, in which spiritual elements acquire relevance. According to Mamadou Diouf, one can distinguish three generations of scholars of the Mouride brotherhood. The first was interested mostly in the religious facets of the group, and the correspondence between Mouride practices and Muslim orthodoxy. Paul Marty was its main representative. The second generation sought to create an anthropological, political, economic, and sociological analysis. Together with other scholars, Donal B. Cruise O’Brien stand out from this generation. The third is the late generation of researchers, which has tracked the Mouride urban migration in Senegal and its Diaspora to the rest of Africa, Europe, and America. Victoria Ebin, Cheikh⁹ Anta Babou, Bruno Riccio, and Cheikh Gueye are among the main representatives of this generation. The debate between two historians, David Robinson and James Searing, has called attention to the decisive importance of Mouride sources “in developing alternative perspectives on the history of Muridiyya.”¹⁰ Nevertheless, the most recent contributions to the historical field come from John Glover, *Sufism and Jihad in Modern Senegal*, and from Cheikh Anta Babou in his work *Fighting the greater jihad* in which he reconstructs the history of the Muridiyya “based on a careful analysis of a variety of sources, mainly Mourides reports and written documents, that are integrated with substantial archival material and other data.”¹¹

This essay, focused on the presence of the Mouride diaspora in Cape Town, South Africa, falls within the context of this last trend of research mentioned above, i.e. the Diaspora.

These Senegalese migrants, who arrived in South Africa at the end of the twentieth century, are part of a large group that has a long and complex history that goes back further than the nineteenth century. During this century, their old Wolof culture was coloured by, and incorporated into the wider cosmogony of Islam. As a

result of these transformations, a Sufi brotherhood with a distinctive ethos, the Muridiyya, emerged to become one of the most important players in shaping the turbulent colonial and post- colonial Senegalese society.

The capacity that this *tariqa* has shown in bringing together under one spiritual authority a mixed population, which includes peasants, urban traders and active intellectuals, and in accommodating to difficult circumstances, has given a certain social stability to a modern and heterogeneous Senegalese society. It has to be pointed out that one of the features of this group, along with its spiritual message, is its relative economic success. Grounded in these constitutive historical elements the Mouride diaspora has spread worldwide, and has arrived in post-Apartheid South Africa to meet a hopeful, vibrant, varied society, which is at the same time shattered by racial issues, social and spiritual fractures, poverty and xenophobia.

Immigration is often seen as a threat by a large segment of the impoverished population of South Africa, which manifests its discontent through xenophobic behaviour, but there is, perhaps, another side to the coin, which is the positive contribution of migrants. In the case of the Mourides, with a long history of successfully dealing with social conflicts in their own land, their experience and contributions may prove beneficial to South African society.

II. Methodology

The methodology used in this essay falls within the context of Oral History, a discipline that arose from the interest in recording post-war memories after WWII. Since then it has evolved as a result of how oral historians have reflected on its goals and methodology.

In 1970, the publication of *The Voice of the Past* by Paul Thompson made an important change in developing Oral History as a discipline. The author argues that interviews, as a source, are perfectly compatible with scholarly standards, and that Oral History “provides a source quite similar to autobiographies but wider in scope.”¹² Thompson explains how oral history transformed the content of history by changing the focus from being essentially political and reflected mainly the experiences of ruling classes, to a focus on the wider working class. This process of writing history gave recognition to a considerable number of groups who had been ignored.¹³

In the late 1970s in response to positivist critics who dismissed oral sources seeing “the unreality of memory as its weakness,”¹⁴ a group of creative oral historians changed this argument in their favour replying that “the so called unreliability of memory was also its strength, and that the subjectivity of the memory provided clues not only about meanings of historical experience, but also about the relationships between past and present, between memory and personal identity, and between individual and collective memory.”¹⁵ Memory became a source of history and oral historians widened their approach to it including tools from linguistics, psychoanalysis or ethnography.

Around 1979 the reflections of the Italian historian Alessandro Portelli made important contributions to the field of Oral History. His understanding of the relationship between orality and writing history is particularly relevant.

In theory (and in practice), oral history can be about anything; open-endedness at all levels is one of its distinctive formal characteristics. I believe, however, that at the core of oral history, in epistemological and in practical terms, lies one deep thematic focus, which distinguishes it from other approaches and disciplines also based on interviewing and fieldwork, such as anthropology, sociology, and folklore: the combination of the narrative on the one hand, and the search for a connection between biography and history, between individual experience and the transformation of society, on the other.¹⁶

Two elements in Portelli’s reflection about oral sources in “What makes Oral History different” should be noted. First, he stresses the speaker’s subjectivity as a specific value of Oral History, and he also points out that this subjectivity is a historical “fact.” Second, he defines oral history as always unfinished: the materials of oral sources are based on the relationship between narrator and researcher, therefore the final event is the consequence of this relationship. Because one person’s testimonies are never exactly the same each time, oral histories are always unfinished.

It should be noted that one of the important sources of the history of the Muridiyya *tariqa* is the oral tradition passed on by the relatives and the *talibés* of Cheikh Amadu Bamba as accounts and historical tales. They celebrate the life of Cheikh Amadu Bamba, his trials under French colonialism, his miracles, and his achievements as a spiritual and historical Senegalese hero. Some of these tales were later adopted in a written form as hagiographic narratives made by his contemporaries and recently historians such as Cheikh Anta Babou have also used these sources.

It should also be taken into consideration in the analysis of these interviews that the interviewees belong to religious groups, which have a holistic vision of the world rooted in Sufi Islam and in Senegalese Wolof culture. It is through these shared values that these individuals interpret their historical experience, which sometimes acquires a mythical meaning belied by the ordinary appearance of traders.

The primary sources for this work have been: first, the interviews of Senegalese Mourides and Tijanis, some Mouride letters, and field work (2007-2008) in Green Market Square, on the Grand Parade, in the Mourides *dahiras* and Tijani *zawiya* established in Cape Town. The secondary sources have been the literature written on the Mourides in general and on the Mouride diaspora in particular, which offers substantial elements for comparison.

This research had two stages. First, it started as an oral history essay for my Masters Course on “Oral History: Method, Practice, and Theory” in 2007 which aimed to explore the identity of Senegalese Mourides and their interaction with Cape Town society. The second stage developed in 2008 in order to do my dissertation.

In 2007, the Mourides had only one main centre in Mowbray, Cape Town. I did not know anybody who could introduce me to them. I only had the address, and I chose to go there and to introduce myself. I knew little about them, but I knew from my readings that the Mourides were a brotherhood composed mainly of black Muslims from Senegal, mainly men in Cape Town, who had a strong and hierarchical organization. I guessed that, on the one hand, being a white woman and unknown to the group, trying to get information from them was not going to be an easy task. In addition, speaking English, which was the mother tongue neither of the informants nor the researcher, was not going to facilitate understanding. On the other hand, I thought that being a converted Muslim with insight and understanding of the Sufi *turuq* could make the relationship between us easier.

In the very beginning our interactions were rather effortless; they were very kind and they invited me to visit their meeting place and to talk with them. I went over several times, I was present at two of their weekly sessions of *dhikr*,¹⁷ and they introduced me to two different Cheikhs who had come from Senegal for a visit. Things were more complicated when I started to interview them. I had prepared formal interviews, which tried to cover personal, professional, social, and religious aspects of their lives. Most of the interviewees were uncomfortable with my questions, particularly if they referred to their personal lives and business. They were

at ease talking about the message of Amadu Bamba. I managed to have only short and unfinished interviews with three of them: Serigne Diop, who introduced himself as a marabout and was new in Cape Town, Ibrahim from the family of Amadu Bamba, and Assane Fall who has been in Cape Town more than ten years and was one of the collectors of the money in the *dahira*. I had only one complete interview with Modou Tall, who has lived in Cape Town from 1997, and was another collector of money in the *dahira*. In one of my visits to the *dahira*, I briefly met a local woman married to a Senegalese Mouride. Despite the kindness of the Senegalese Mourides in Cape Town, it has not been smooth getting the interviews done. There were several factors involved in this.

I was conscious of the obstacles and implications as a western woman exploring an unknown, masculine space of African Mouride traders. Nevertheless, to be aware of barriers does not mean that they disappear, even if it helps to understand them better. It is necessary to take time to get to know one another, to reduce the barriers and to find out about the subtle inner workings of this society. The time was short.

They accepted the interviews out of curiosity and to be kind to me although they were not very interested in talking about themselves. They were busy working during the day, and I did not know where to go in order to meet them, thus most of the interviews were in the *dahira*. The questionnaire was long and alien to them. Some of the questions were inappropriate. Moreover, they were very protective of their *tariqa*, they did not want to say anything, which could damage the image of the *tariqa*. It seems that this protection is the other side of the success of this hierarchically organized brotherhood which acts in unison. As researchers, we can understand these silences as indications to end the questions.

Ultimately, although the result of the research field was more difficult and less productive than planned, I got to know a lot about them. Following on from these reflections, I concluded that the group, perhaps, had to be addressed in a different way to get a deeper understanding of it in the next stage.

In the second stage, there were several changes in how I addressed the Mourides. Firstly, I tried to approach them from outside their group, learning from opinions of other Senegalese about the Mourides, as suggested by my supervisor. I was introduced to a Senegalese Tijani, well connected with a member of the

Department of Historical Studies at the University of Cape Town, who was very helpful. I interviewed him and other Tijanis after him.

Secondly, he introduced me to his Mouride companions, who worked and still work side by side with him in Green Market square. From there, I developed contacts with other Mourides.

Thirdly, I concentrated my research more on Green Market Square as a place to meet and get to know better the Mourides and the Senegalese traders. I interviewed some of them there, which was easier for them.

Finally, I did not always follow formal interview procedures. I recorded some of the interviews, but others were semi-formal interviews or conversations. I sometimes took notes and this had fewer constraints than a recorded interview enabling more openness by the informants

In my visits to Green Market Square, along with other meetings in other parts of Cape Town, I encountered five members of the Mouride brotherhood and another six members of the Tijanis. All of them were men except a Senegalese woman I met briefly in the Pan-African market in Long Street. Among the Mourides, I met three members from each of the *dahiras* in Cape Town. I interviewed the chairman of the *dahira* of Mowbray, the President of the *Foundation Amadu Bamba*, and a Capetonian who had become a Mouride. Among the Tijanis, I interviewed the President of the Western Cape *dahira*, followers of Cheikh Hassan Cissé from Kaolack, Ousmane Kane, a Professor from Columbia University New York, who visited the University of Cape Town in July 2008, and other traders.

There are three informants who have played a key role in this work: The first was Khadim Niang, the young Senegalese connected with a branch of Hizbut Tarkiyya, who is a *qasidas* singer and one of the Mouride activists. He sees himself as transforming the relationship within the Mourides and the relationship with other Senegalese, particularly with the Tijanis. The second was Muhammad Shafick, a local “Malay” who discovered a spiritual path among the Mourides, and wants Mouridism to expand in South Africa. The third is Abdulahi Thiam, the President of the Western Cape Tijani *dahira*, who is a veteran, a witness to the unfolding of the Muridiyya in Cape Town. Throughout these months my relationship with them became closer and much more trust was built up between us.

As part of my fieldwork, I had the opportunity to attend a *dhikr* of the Tijaniyya and to be present, on the day of its inauguration at the new Mourides Centre at 23 Clarendon St., Brooklyn, where the *Foundation Cheikh Ahmed Bamba* is based.

I would like finally to add that for reasons of dignity the Mourides do not like to talk about the economic or xenophobic problems in their daily life or about the difficulties of their existence in Cape Town. But it is necessary to note that the hardship and challenges of migrant life sometime leads to an idealised representation where the life or their leaders are sanctified.

The adventure of the Mourides in Cape Town is an adventure of determined men, a story of pioneers and explorers, while the women stay in the village or in Dakar, waiting back in the home country. We do not hear their voices, we do not see them, but they are an important reference in the words and in the imagination of these *talibés*.

III. Islam in Senegal: historical backgrounds

A. Introduction

In order to better understand the purpose of this essay about the migrant Mouride in South Africa, I shall start with some historical background to the presence of Islam and the strong influence of the brotherhoods in contemporary Senegal.

The historical development of Senegal has been influenced by its strategic situation both as an Atlantic and Sahelian country,¹⁸ settled between rivers. The Senegal River in the North was a border to the desert of Mauritania and to the regions which once were controlled by the Almoravids. The Gambia River to the South was the entrance to the smaller societies, which dominated the coastal areas.¹⁹ The people living close to the Senegal River were exposed to the influence of trans-Saharan Muslim traders and were the first to embrace Islam a millennium ago. From there Islam spread to other places of Senegal. The proximity to Europe encouraged commercial links between Europe and West Africa at an early stage, particularly the shipment of slaves to the new world.

Senegalese geography has created a junction where black, African, Islamic and European cultures have confronted and influenced one another. Today Senegal plays a role as a bridge between the West, the Islamic world, and Africa. One of the reasons for this is that some of its inhabitants are part of the big wave of migrants from Africa to Europe and America. As travellers and traders, they bring with them a strong identity expressed by their clothes, behaviour, and beliefs. At the same time, they absorb much of the culture of their host countries.

B. The beginning of Islam

Since the eleventh century Islam has traversed the Sahara desert by way of trade routes and spread East and West along the Sahelian corridor between desert and forest.²⁰ The influence of Muslim traders from North Africa to the area of Tekrur situated in the middle of the Senegal valley led War Jabis, a ruler of Tekrur, to convert to Islam before 1040.²¹ His subjects later followed his example, and the Tokolor²² became the first Senegalese ethnic group to embrace Islam as a group. This area became a centre of Islamic instruction and scholars were attracted there from throughout West Africa.²³

Although the practice of Islam by a minority of merchants and members of ruling castes goes back a thousand years, it is 500 years since the Islamic faith came to be shared by larger groups, which incorporated the pastoralist Fulbe and the more aristocratic Wolof societies.²⁴ In whatever way they were exposed to Islam, people who followed the rules of Islam, such as the Tokolor, coexisted, with other groups, which were formally Muslim, but remained attached to their traditional religious practices.²⁵ It should be noted that the spread of the Muslim faith in these areas was not always in successful Islamic states such as the nineteenth century Sokoto *Khaliphate* in the Western Sudan region, nowadays North Western Nigeria.²⁶

C. Senegal in the nineteen century

There are several elements that come into play in the nineteenth century. First, as a result of the influence of Islam during this century the Wolof territory was divided into two societies, which had opposing value systems. The one was under the control of an aristocratic regime based on a hierarchical organization of aristocrats bound together by ties of blood, free men and slaves; and the other consisted of peasant Muslim villages that had reached some self-government in the eighteenth century. These Muslims, who lived according to their own laws, disagreed with an aristocracy, which “lived by warfare and violence, according to their own system of honour, and (that they) drank alcohol and lived off the fruit of the others.”²⁷ The Atlantic slave trade influenced these societies and increased the constant warfare to obtain booty and slaves, practices that Muslim scholars and *marabouts* criticized and rejected.²⁸ Nevertheless, attitudes towards the monarchy differed among the Muslims. Muslims in Senegal had historical experience in dealing, fighting and accommodating non-Muslim powers.²⁹

In addition, there was the development of colonial power in Senegal. As a result of colonialist rivalry in West Africa between the French and the British, the territory of Senegambia was divided into two areas of influence. The French controlled the region of North Senegal, and the British established themselves on the south close to the mouth of the Gambia River. It was in the seventeenth century, in 1659 to be exact, that the French established a fort and a trading post at Saint Louis. In the beginning, as a first step, the French based their presence in the region on commerce, and on the need to secure their trading post.

Furthermore, in the course of the nineteenth century, two opposite trends materialized in this area. At the same time that the French were taking over the territory, a

jihad movement to enlarge Islam from the Futa Toro region in north Senegal was growing. The French military conquest openly started in 1854. After 1857, troops, which faced widespread resistance, were sent to the interior of Senegal to protect colonial commerce and, "Islam became the catalyst for armed resistance."³⁰ The greatest resistance came from Muslim reformers because Islam had the capacity to gather together populations, which transcended tribal links.³¹

The most significant Tijani Muslim reformer was al-Hajj Umar Tall who was of Tokolor origin. He had some tense confrontations with European authorities and he led the *jihad* against his pagan neighbours, but despite some important conquests failed in uniting the region under one rule. After he was defeated and killed in 1864, "Umar became the incarnation of Islamic resistance to European intrusion for the Senegalese."³²

Other reformers followed his example, like Ma'Ba, another Tijani leader in the 1860s, who fought against Serer pagans, the *ceddo*³³ armies of the Mandinka as well as the French. He was killed in Serer land at 1867. Both leaders, al-Hajj Umar Tall and Ma Ba, died on the battlefield, but they neither established a united reign, which could give security and prosperity to their subjects, nor could they stop the steady advance of French forces over Senegal.³⁴

Later, a third Tijani reform movement, the Madiyanke, assembled a large body of supporters from Jolof and Kajoor. In 1875 a coalition of colonial forces with the Wolof royals, Lat Dior and Albury Ndiaye, beat them down and destroyed most of their leaders. Their defeat generated a deep debate among Muslim scholars about the legitimacy of confiscating booty from the Madiyanke and the proper relationship of Muslims to power.³⁵

After that, the French haunted by the example of these Muslims affiliated with the Tijaniyya, labelled all Tijani dangerous *jihadists*. To counter them "the French cultivated a Francophile community in Saint Louis, often associated with the Qadiriyya order. The favourites were Shaykh Sidiyya Baba and Shaykh Saad Bu of southern Mauritania."³⁶

By the late nineteenth century, the French had turned their interest to peanut production in the main peanut basin, the Wolof kingdom of Kajoor. This kingdom exercised power over the coast and over important interior areas between Saint Louis, the old area of French influence, and Dakar, the new emerging town, which would become the capital of West Africa.³⁷

In 1870, an assembly of 300 notables, which included supporters of the Muslim party and advocates of Lat Joor, offered Lat Joor the throne of Kajoor³⁸ and he became the *Dammel*³⁹ of Kajoor. The French signed a treaty with him in the 1880s in which he agreed

to the new railroad the French were going to build from Saint Louis to Dakar, to cross his kingdom. Soon after this compromise, Lat Joor realised that the agreement meant the end of his independence and withdrew from his pact. The French did not accept his refusal of the former pact and sent their army against him. His old ally, Demba War, guided the French to Lat Joor.⁴⁰ His resistance was short. Surrounded by a small group of loyal warriors, allies and relatives, he couldn't confront the superior military technology of the French army, which killed him in 1886. "The old Wolof Monarchy died with Lat Joor and he became a symbol of resistance to the French later."⁴¹ This defeat opened the way for the colonial era from 1885-1960, with the establishment of French sovereignty over Senegal and other African territories.

Finally, from this time a new generation of Muslim leaders, born in the 1850s and brought up in a turbulent society, started to assume the role of guiding their followers under the new rules of a foreign non-Muslim order. The source of their command was their spiritual authority, the *baraka* acknowledged by their followers.

D. The colonial order

"Colonial rule in Senegal as elsewhere in Africa, was essentially a method of political, economic, and cultural domination forcibly imposed by military conquest by a technologically advanced foreign minority on an indigenous majority."⁴²

A new order was coming about, which was shaping the conquered territory. The colonial French developed a bureaucratic state with little understanding of their subjects, and had neither the economic means, nor the human resources to rule a society in constant change. They divided the territory into two distinct political and administrative entities, which showed the different status between urban and rural subjects. The inhabitants of four urban communes (Dakar, Saint Louis, Rufisque and Goree) were considered citizens. They were educated in French culture, had a representative who sat in the French Chamber of deputies in Paris, and had access to employment in modern activities.⁴³ This minority of Senegalese society, composed mainly by *métis*, constituted only five percent of the Senegalese population. Most of the other ninety five percent lived in rural areas, which the colonial administration governed by more autocratic means.

Rural territories were divided into *circles* led by a commandant, which were subdivided into smaller administrative units called cantons that in their turn were led by canton chiefs appointed by the French administration. Frequently this administration chose people

from traditional authorities as canton chiefs, but they were stripped of the privileges and resources that the old rulers had.

The consequences of this new administration were deep and dramatic for old Wolof societies, which were dismantled. Not only did they lose their ruler, but also the main means of subsistence of the aristocratic society, which were based on slavery and booty, both products of aristocratic warfare. The destruction of a society based on slavery gave the slaves freedom from their masters, but also deprived them of the material protection provided by the old aristocracy. Furthermore, new colonialist rulers did not give them any economic support.

Within this historical situation, another process was taking place; the consistent progress of Islam among the Wolof, and their integration into the structures of Sufi brotherhoods, which were creating another pole of authority. In this respect the figure of Amadu Bamba, who will be discussed later, is a particularly significant example. As the old Wolof society fell to pieces scores of its members became his followers.

The French, like the British, although in a different way, had trouble holding sway over Muslim societies. Their conquest of Algeria proved complex and cruel, and they had a lot of difficulty with their constituents. Nevertheless, they acquired useful information, which they tried to apply in the new territories that they were conquering. It was the important research on North African Sufi Brotherhoods by Xavier Coppolani, the Frenchman expert on Islam in Algeria, which to a certain extent guided French rulers in coping with West African societies. In the 1890s, the European administration attempted to rule through appointed chiefs. Having been unsuccessful, they turned their attention to the circles of Sufi *marabouts* with wide constituencies. They had to introduce certain practices of “indirect rule” to obtain the collaboration of the population for paying taxes, maintaining order, and working in their big agricultural project of growing peanuts.⁴⁴ A complex network of African intermediaries evolved around the state, ranging from Wolof bureaucrats, appointed chiefs, traders to the main intermediary agents who were the Sufi *marabouts*. In the urban communes, the African leaders were urban Western educated Senegalese intellectuals, while in the countryside the *marabouts* ruled.

By the turn of the twentieth century Sufi brotherhoods were beginning to expand in relation to lineages of saintly figures, bodies of close and devoted disciples, and a mass of much poorer followers committed to peanut farming.⁴⁵

IV. Sufi Brotherhoods in Senegal

A. Introduction to Sufism

Sufism or *tasawwuf* is considered by the people who follow this path, as the science of the journey to the King [Allah], as well as the inner purification of the heart. Shaykh Ahmad ibn Agiba, a Moroccan Darkawi Shaykh from the 18th century, says in his “Autobiography” that,

The science that seeks to deduct from the Qur’an and the *sunna* the esoteric dispositions (*al-ahkam al-batina*), that is, those which tend to make the heart virtuous by purifying it of blameworthy traits, and by embellishing it with praiseworthy traits in preparation for its receiving grace and divine manifestations, and observing propriety at every moment (*adab al-awqat*) is the science of Sufism (*ilm al-tasawwuf*)... Among the many definitions that it has been given, let us cite that of Shaykh Zarruq, which is perfectly eloquent: ‘(Sufism) is sincere orientation towards God via means that satisfy Him.’⁴⁶

The history of Sufism, as told by Sufi Shaykhs, goes back to the teachings of Prophet Muhammad but in his time Sufism did not exist as a discipline apart. On the contrary, it was a true experience embodied by him and his Companions. It is often said that in the early days, Sufism was a reality without a name, and in recent times, it often becomes a name without reality.

In referring to the name Sufi, some etymological theories state that the root word of Sufi is the Arabic *saad*, meaning pure or clean. This opinion emphasizes purity of heart and soul. Another viewpoint is that the word originated from *suf*, indicating “wool”, and alludes to the simple and coarse woollen robes the original Sufis used to wear. Others have suggested that the origin of this word is *Ahl al-Suff* (People of the Veranda). They refer to a group of poor Muslims who renounced worldly affairs to dedicate themselves to pray on the veranda of the Prophet’s Mosque. Essentially, among the Sufis, the origin of Sufism is based on *zuhud*, which means “doing without” by emptying their hearts of the desires of this world.

All traditional Sufi *turuq* trace the origin of their chains of transmission, *silsila*, to the Prophet Muhammad, either through his cousin and son-in-law, the *Khaliph* Ali ibn Abi Talib, or through the *Khaliph* Abu Bakr. At the time when Iraq was the flourishing centre of the Abbasid *Khaliphate*, there were spiritual circles in Basra and Baghdad who wanted to keep spiritual values alive in one epoch of splendour and material prosperity.

Hassan al-Basri (d.728) and Rabia al-Adawiya (d. 752 or 780) were notable in following the spiritual path. During the twelfth century, Sufi *turuq* started to develop outside Baghdad in areas such as Turkey, Iran, and India, and in the West, in the Maghreb and al-Andalus. A master of this time was Abd al-Qadir al Jilani (d.1166) in Baghdad, the originator of the Qadiriyya *tariqa*; later Jalaluddin Rumi (1207? -1273), the founder of the Mawlewi order, and Moinuddin Chisti (1141-1230) the founder of Chistiyya brotherhood in India, stood out as the most influential Sufis of their time. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the expansion of brotherhoods all over the Islamic world continued. The *turuq* were the spearhead of the Islamization of areas under Muslim influence; a massive geographical space stretching from the East (Indo-Malaysian territory) through to West Africa.

Despite each order having its own ways of devotion, there is much consensus among Sufis, because the essential teachings are the same. All Sufi masters maintain that Sufism is not separate from Islam, and that it is necessary to follow the *Sharia*⁴⁷ to comprehend Sufism. In addition, the *wird*⁴⁸ and *dhikr* are part of the Sufi practices. As Shaykh Mawlay al-Arabi ad-Darkawi says, “*Dhikr* is the greatest pillar and support in the path of Allah.”⁴⁹ Furthermore, to perfect the character is inseparable from the Way. Lastly, the relation between the shaykh and the seeker is at the centre of Sufi teaching methodology. The shaykh is the spiritual guide “who has travelled the path and returned to brief the People about how it was gained,”⁵⁰ and the condition of the disciples is to follow the instructions given to them by their shaykh as “a corpse in the hands of the washer.”

B. The three main Sufi Brotherhoods in Senegal

This brief overview of the main features of Sufism can help us to understand the Senegalese brotherhoods which are a part of the worldwide trend of Sufism, although they have their own characteristics. State demographers in Senegal say that around 85 percent of the inhabitants of the country profess Islam. Sufism is the manner in which Senegalese people practice Islam; about 90 percent of the Muslims are affiliated to one or another brotherhood. There are three influential brotherhoods: the Qadiriyya, the Tijaniyya, and the Muridiyya. The three of them have different *dhikrs*, *wirds*, and organization, but they do not have deep doctrinal divergences and they recognize the orthodoxy of the others.

1. -The Qadiriyya

The Qadiriyya order goes back furthest in time. It was created in the early twelfth century, by Sayyid Abdul Qadir al-Jilani's disciples fifty years after his death. Its teachings extended over the Levant, Egypt and Spain. Two of Shaykh Abdul Qadir al-Jilani's disciples went to Morocco after the fall of Granada in 1492, and it seems that the Qadiri teachers continued their expansion to sub-Saharan Africa from the *ribat* of Marrakech.⁵¹

In the first part of the nineteenth century, the Qadiri shaykhs were particularly influential in Mauritania and in Senegal. Nevertheless, they did not all share the same attitude towards the French presence on their territory. Some like Ma El Ainin (1838-1910) maintained an uncompromised position in relation to the French and were committed to the *jihad* of resistance in Mauritania.⁵² Others represented a compromise with European invaders as Cheikh Siddiyya Baba did. He gave a *fatwa* in 1903 in favour of colonial rule, where he declared that there was no obligation on Muslims to declare *jihad* against the French, or to emigrate from occupied territories⁵³.

In the second part of nineteenth century, the Qadiriyya predominance suffered a decline mainly owing to the *jihad* campaigns, and the influence of the Tijani Cheikh Hajj Umar Tall on their traditional areas of influence. Throughout the twentieth century, the Qadiriyya *tariqa* became fragmented and weak, and lost political influence to the other two brotherhoods. Nowadays Senegal's Qadiriyya remains divided between two sources of authority: Shaykh Kunta's branch, which is the base of a home-grown Senegalese organization, and Shaykh Saad Buhh's followers under Mauritanian shaykhs and representatives. Around the city of Thiès, considered a Qadiri bastion, new activities originated by Mauritaniens have been developed.⁵⁴

The following two *turuq*, which will be discussed below, the Tijaniyya and the Muridiyya, are representatives of an important reformist movement over the eighteenth century, from the traditional standards of decentralized associations towards a more cohesive system of organisation. Through this, the brotherhoods became more unified, disciplined, and interconnected by a chain of representatives. These new organizational traits proved themselves to be useful on the political stage.⁵⁵

2. The Tijaniyya

a. The Founder

After the Qadiriyya, the next order to appear is the Tijaniyya *tariqa*. It was founded by Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Mukhtar b. Salim al-Tijani (1727-1815) in Algeria. He pursued a traditional Muslim education. Only after that did he commit himself to the Sufi Way. At the age of 36, he visited several Sufi centers in North Africa, and became affiliated to the Qadiriyya, Nasiriyya, and Khalwatiyya *taruq*. After that, he went into retreat where he received from the Prophet, the *wird*, and the instruction to found a new *tariqa*. Shaykh Ahmed Tijani left his spiritual succession to his *muqqadam* al-Hajj Ali b. al Isa Tomasin, adding that the *Khaliphate* of the *tariqa* would thenceforth alternate between his own descendents and those of Tomasin.⁵⁶

Although the Tijaniyya brotherhood is more concerned “to spread an ideal of behaviour, rather than engaging in competitive disputation with rival scholars,”⁵⁷ it was distinguished from the beginning by its belief that its fundamental doctrines were dictated to Shaykh Ahmed al Tijani, by the Prophet, when he was awake.⁵⁸ For his followers this implies the infallibility of his doctrines, and also the superiority of this order based on the polemical conviction that he was “the seal of *wilaya*” in the same way that the Prophet Muhammad was the seal of Prophethood.

Whereas others *fugara* practise *dhikr* and the *wird*, only the *wird* is a daily obligatory practice for a member of the Tijaniyya.⁵⁹ Their spiritual practices do not include a secluded way of living. According to Ahmad al Tijani, the Messenger set forth this principle of the *tariqa* in these terms. “Keep on the path, without withdrawing into seclusion, and without putting an end to interactions with other men until you reach the station which is your due.”⁶⁰

b. Development of the *tariqa* in Senegal.

The Tijaniyya spread quickly through North Africa, and was established next in Mecca by North African pilgrims. Al-Hajj Umar Tall, known for his erudition and discernment, became the main agent of Tijaniyya in the area. On his pilgrimage to Mecca he was initiated into the Tijani *wird* by the Tijani *muqqadam*, Muhammad al-Ghali in 1827, who nominated him as the Tijani *khalifa* in sub-Saharan Africa. After an absence of 15 years he returned to his native Futa Toro, by which time he had been transformed into a Tijani leader who was determined to unite the Muslims under his authority and fight the pagan tribes that surrounded them. The results of his military campaigns were not successful. Nevertheless, if the *jihad* of al-Hajj Umar did not accomplish its goal, it contributed to enlarging the influence of the *tariqa* throughout the territories where they were

campaigning.⁶¹

c. Main branches in Senegal

The branch of al-Hajj Malik Sy

After al-Hajj Umar's death in the late twentieth century the Tijaniyya *tariqa* was divided into several branches. Among them the most active was that of Cheikh Malik b. Uthman, known as al-Hajj Malik Sy (1855). Malik Sy had direct links to al-Hajj Umar, although his views on *jihad* were deeply influenced by moderate north-African members of this *tariqa* who had submitted to colonial rule.

On Malik Sy's return from *hajj* in 1889, he established himself first in Saint Louis, the colonial capital of Senegal, and then settled in the village of Ndiardé. In 1902 he set up permanent residence in Tivaouane, in the middle of the Wolof area, and established a *zawiya* to dedicate himself fully to teaching. However, he continued administrating his estates in Ndiardé, where he died in 1922.⁶² The most advanced element of Malik Sy's mission was his emphasis on rigorous educational standards.⁶³ Malik Sy came to represent an educated and tolerant Islam that had nothing to fear in dealing with the mission of the French colonial state. From the time of the *jihad* of Al-Hajj Umar Tall, the French looked on the Tijani members with suspicion and watched the activities of the *marabouts* carefully; however Malik Sy never gave the French any cause for alarm. In 1912, in a public letter addressed to the Tijanis and the Muslims, he declared his submission to the French, as Sidiyya Ba had done before him. He argued that the French had brought peace into the area.⁶⁴ In addition, he sent his son to join the French army in World War I, and said special prayers from the beginning of the war. There was probably more than one reason behind his support of the French rule of Senegal, but as Said Bousbina says, it was this position that enabled him to achieve his goal of making Kajoor an important centre of the Tijani *tariqa*.⁶⁵

At the beginning of the twentieth century the French began to reconsider their stereotyped view of the Tijaniyya, as a result of their relationship with al-Hajj Malik Sy, and later with the controversial figure of al-Hajj Seydou Nourou Tall (1879-1980), grand son of al-Hajj Umar Tall.

Seydou Nourou Tall was born in the independent Umarian empire, and died a centenarian in Dakar, 20 years after independence.⁶⁶ After 1927 he became the main assistant of the French authorities. He showed himself to be very efficient in helping the French when they needed it, whether encouraging the African population to pay taxes or being an arbiter between parties in conflict.⁶⁷ Although he was appointed grand

marabout of the AOF⁶⁸ by the French, Seydou Nourou Tall was not a mere instrument of the colonial powers.⁶⁹ With his apparent submission, he reinforced his power in an indirect way. Thanks to his political missions throughout the territory of the AOF, which brought him close to different Muslim places, he strengthened the orthodoxy of Islam, and gave support to isolated Muslims. Furthermore, Seydou Nourou Tall was also an eminent member of the Tijaniyya, who extended the place of the Tijani Umarian branch. His influence did not terminate with the declaration of Senegal independence and political changes. His advice was heeded until his death.⁷⁰

The Niassene branch

The other major branch of the Tijaniyya, the Niassene based in Kaolack, is smaller than that of Cheikh Malik Sy in Senegal, but in contrast to Malik Sy's branch, it has broadened its influence beyond the limits of Senegal.⁷¹ At the end of the colonial period, it had disciples in all West African countries, especially in Mauritania, Togo, Guinea, Ghana, Burkina Faso and Chad; it was particularly strong in Nigeria.

The founder was Abdulaye Niasse (1844-1922) a contemporary of al-Hajj Malik Sy. However, the most influential figure of this branch was his son Ibrahim Niasse (1900-1985). Ibrahim Niasse's taste for *tasawwuf* always predisposed him to seek knowledge.⁷² At the end of 1929 he had proclaimed himself as the inheritor of the *fayda*, the spiritual flood, promised by Ahmad al-Tijani. The early 1930s coincided with his full intellectual development, when he wrote his main works in which he formulated his interpretation of Tijani doctrine. Cheikh Ibrahim also opened up the spiritual initiation, *tarbiya*, to the common disciples who desired it. His charismatic power was one of the main reasons for his popularity among his millions of followers in Western Africa.⁷³ Therefore, his popularity, especially among the young, along with the distance he kept from the French administration, nourished the mistrust of the French. Yet, they neither arrested nor sent him into exile.

3. The Muridiyya

The third brotherhood, the Muridiyya, is nowadays the most influential *tariqa* in the country. In order to understand this *tariqa* and its influence, it is necessary to go to the source -- the founder of the *tariqa* -- Cheikh Amadu Bamba. It is the confluence of historical and educational circumstances that surrounded his life, along with his exceptional qualities of character and the revelations he received later that explains his teaching and the emergence of the Muridiyya *tariqa*.

a. The years of youth and learning

It is worth bearing in mind that Amadu Bamba's years of learning took place in a crucial historical context which would deeply influence his vision of political power. Also, he had a profound Islamic education, and he soon showed an independent character based principally on his spiritual convictions. These elements shaped his personality during this formative period, and prepared him for the historical role he was to play later.

Amadu Bamba Mbacké or Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Habib Allah (1850-1927) was born in Mbacké, to a well-established *maraboutic* family of eastern Baol. His father, Momar Anta Sali, was a famous teacher, who served from time to time as counsellor to chiefs in Baol and Kajoor, and his mother, Diarra Busso, also came from a well-known scholarly lineage.⁷⁴ Within his family, Amadu Bamba received traditional Muslim training. From his childhood he memorised the Qur'an until he completed it, and learnt Islamic sciences (*hadith*, *tafsir*, *tawhid* and *fiqh*) with his father and his maternal uncles.⁷⁵

He experienced infighting among Muslims and even in his family. In the 1860s, Ma Ba fought the *jihad* in Wolof areas. In the course of the invasion of Baol, his grandfather was killed, and Momar Anta Sali moved with his family to the south near the capital of Nioro. Later, during the 1870s, Momar Anta Ali was a *qadi* in Lat Joor's court. Living in this environment offered Amadu Bamba the opportunity to witness the aristocratic Wolof way of ruling at close hand, and to continue his learning particularly with Ma Diakhate Kala, *qadi* and secretary of Lat Joor. Amadu Bamba's closeness to power did not give him any false illusions about it. Since his youth, he had not trusted people involved in political leadership.⁷⁶ Most of the narrations on this part of his life relate that he showed firmness towards political leaders, and openly expressed his criticism concerning behaviour which he did not approve. After the defeat of Madiyanke in 1875,⁷⁷ Amadu Bamba did not hesitate to judge his tutor Madiakhaté rigorously for having legalised the killing and the enslaving of the Madiyanke, as well as for having confiscated their properties after the battle of 1875, on the presumption that they were not Muslims.⁷⁸

His sharp disapproval of this practice of power led him to keep his distance from Lat Joor, as well as reserving a harsh judgment for his father's collaboration with him. Amadu Bamba reputedly said: "If my father does not leave the king, I will leave him."⁷⁹ Despite these disagreements, the relationship between father and son remained close.

In the following poem dated between 1894 and 1895, Cheikh Amadu Bamba

expresses vividly his essential lack of belief in all worldly powers. It highlights this attitude which was his leitmotif and that guided his actions for his whole life:

They (my mentors) said to me "Lean on those who hold power
And you will always obtain what will make you rich."
But I responded: "God is sufficient for me, and I want only Him!"
Nothing satisfies me except knowledge and religion.
I neither seek nor wish anything other than my God
Because He is powerful; He rewards and protects me.⁸⁰

b. The beginning of his teaching and the revelation in Touba

During the 1880s, some events occurred which proved influential on Amadu Bamba and on the future brotherhood. These were the death of his father, the defeat of the last old Wolof Kingdom along with the dismantling of its aristocratic society, and the establishment of French power in Senegal.

Bamba continued learning, sitting at the feet of many Sufis. He had received the Qadiri *wird* from his father, the Shadhili and the Tijani *wird* from other shaykhs and did not start to teach Sufism until after his father died.⁸¹ When Amadu Bamba started, a vast and laborious task awaited him: the education of a large and disrupted Wolof population, many of them enslaved and ignorant, who was looking for protection and leadership. Despite the fact that some of the followers of Amadu Bamba were learned men, he was distressed by the ignorance and indolence of most Wolof people and was determined to educate this society in Islam.⁸² At the same time, his position was strengthened by the support and allegiance that members of the Wolof aristocracy gave to him. According to Cruise O'Brien, the same year that Lat Joor was killed by the French, 1886, a *ceddo* Ibra Fall, declared formal submission to Amadu Bamba. This was the symbolic occasion of the social and cultural integration of the Muslim and semi-pagan, which "took place in a new Muslim brotherhood of a quite distinctive character,"⁸³ and became a determinant in its subsequent impact on Wolof society.

Regarding the dominance of colonialism over Senegalese territory, Amadu Bamba withdrew from the *jihadist* reformers, because he realised that the battle against the cannons of the French had been lost. Thus, it would be more worthwhile to concentrate on the pursuit of spiritual inner realities.⁸⁴ Searing refers to some Mouride scholars that he interviewed in Darou-Moust, who said of these *jihads* that: "For Cheikh Amadu Bamba there was one *jihad* left, a struggle with the soul...*jihad al nafsi*"⁸⁵ ... The

jihad of the sword is over. The *jihad* of the soul is the only one recognised by the Mourides.”⁸⁶

Following his personal inclinations Amadu Bamba separated himself from the heartland of European control, and he retired to Mbacké Baol far from the railroad. Very soon, a flow of visitors came to his place looking for instruction, which he gave. Later, he moved to a more remote place North-East of Mbacké, Dar as Salam. During these years he combined his teaching, with travelling, searching for knowledge and periods of retirement where he wrote many poems glorifying the Prophet, the *qasidas* or odes, which his followers frequently sing today.

The most significant spiritual event of this period happened in the early 1890s when Amadu Bamba was forty. He withdrew into the wilderness far from human presence where he had a mystical meeting with the Prophet,⁸⁷ “which seemed to confirm his mission to seek God and spread the faith.”⁸⁸ The Mourides describe this moment as the awakening of Amadu Bamba to the supreme status of “master of his time“, the *Qutb al zaman* or “pole of the era.”⁸⁹ He gave the name of Touba to this place (Abode of Felicity),⁹⁰ which later would become the spiritual metropolis for the Mourides, and where Cheikh Amadu Bamba would be buried. From that time, he started to distance himself from his master in Mauritania, Shaykh Sidiyya Baba, and to establish his autonomy as a master.⁹¹

Along with his teaching of Islam and Sufism Amadu Bamba started his collaboration with his loyal and close brother Mame Thierno Birahim or Ibra Fati, and with Ibra Fall, the founder of the Bay Fall.⁹² These two principal disciples of Cheikh Amadu Bamba were the most responsible for developing an economic application of their teacher’s instruction to the brotherhood. Both expanded the *dahiras*, which were groups of around 12 young male dependants of different shaykhs, separated from their families, who combined working hard in the fields with fervent sessions of singing *qasidas* and reciting Qur’an. However, this system was not monastic, but an initiation to manhood based on the values of discipline, collective hard work, and spiritual learning. These disciples worked mainly in the service of their shaykhs, although they got social prestige and economic gains as well. After an average of eight years the *shaykh* granted them permission to leave, and often gave them a piece of land so that they could sustain themselves and marry. New villages started around these lands.⁹³ The economic adaptation was facilitated by the Wolof attitude to land. Agriculture was regarded as a “noble” profession, because it was the only form of manual work that could be

performed by members of the nobility.⁹⁴ The *dahiras* became the basis of the agricultural organization of the Mourides and the main producers of the peanut cash crop, which at the same time fulfilled the interests of French economic plans in Senegal.

Amadu Bamba built a religious and economic society with these two collaborators, Ibra Fati and Ibra Fall, and also with the political contribution of Cheikh Anta, which attracted peasants, *ceddo* from Kajoor, Baol and Jolof, and slaves “who would transform bondage into religious loyalty.”⁹⁵

In the context of the colonial order, the new system of chiefs appointed by the French did not work, while in contrast Amadu Bamba and his followers emerged as an alternative power, with few links with the colonial rulers.⁹⁶ Thus Amadu Bamba aroused the jealousy of the canton chiefs who felt their power and prestige were threatened by him.⁹⁷

The colonial authorities started to look distrustfully at this constant tide of people around Cheikh Amadu Bamba. As a rule, up until that time every Senegalese leader, who had influence and popularity like Amadu Bamba had used this to prepare an uprising against colonialism or his enemies. It was difficult for the French to imagine that Cheikh Amadu Bamba had a different attitude.⁹⁸ Amadu Bamba did not confront the colonial rulers directly, he used passive resistance, which made the French rulers uneasy thinking that under his accommodating behaviour was a “hidden agenda.” However, the main concern of Amadu Bamba was to develop Islam, and his passive resistance to the French was mainly a way to resist a foreign non-Muslim ruling power.⁹⁹

Reassuring the authorities of Bamba’s peaceful intentions was not enough to counteract the calumnies of chiefs and members of the old royal families, who saw him as a rival. Therefore, with the aim of strengthening the supremacy of their appointed chiefs, the French exiled him to Gabon.

c. The years of exile and the consolidation of the *tariqa*

Cheikh Amadu Bamba lived most of his remaining years until his death in 1927 in exile or under arrest in his own country, but this did not stop him spreading his message and increasing his influence. His first exile to Gabon from 1895 to 1902 (although under adverse circumstances), gave him isolation and time for reflection, reading and writing. In this period a Mouride tradition was created, a miracle corpus of the different trials Cheikh Amadu Bamba had to endure in exile, which materialized in oral stories and paintings,¹⁰⁰ and “have constructed a comprehensive epic of their sheik’s resistance to

The turning point for collaboration between the French and the Mourides was when Amadu Bamba was sent to Djourbel (Baol), a more controlled area. At this juncture, Governor General William Ponty realised that Bamba's writings were not dangerous, and allowed him to move more freely around the country. Cheikh Amadu Bamba wrote a long letter to his disciples where he exhorted them to have patience and to live in peace with the French invader mainly because they had brought peace to the territory and they did not openly oppose the profession of Muslim faith. This letter along with the support (with men and prayers) that Bamba gave to the French in World War I represents an important change from his previous uncompromising attitude to the centers of power.¹⁰⁹ However, Amadu Bamba maintained a clear distances from the colonial order. Accordingly, he forbade French schools in eastern Baol and maintained the sovereignty of his religious town Touba.¹¹⁰ He died in 1927.

d. The Mouride *tariqa* after Amadu Bamba

During the life time of Amadu Bamba and after his death, the colonial power created a situation that helped the development of the brotherhoods. This was mainly because the French had to apply a more realistic policy following the political failure of the system based on appointed chiefs. Thus, they adopted a procedure of indirect rule counting on native intermediaries. Through this, a pattern of collaboration was built between the state and the leadership of the *turuq*, which would deeply influence society and would continue after Senegal's independence. On the one hand, the shaykhs of the orders were used effectively as intermediaries by French authorities to get taxes or to organize the groundnut farming. On the other hand, the subjugated societies found ways of collaborating to escape stealthily from total colonial domination, but still derive benefit from it. Within this context, the Muridiyya *tariqa* was brought to prominence under colonial rule, and this helped to extend their influence, which became the dominant social and economic force in the peanut basin.¹¹¹

It seems that there were two main reasons for this. Firstly, in the second part of the nineteenth century groundnut cultivation had become the central matrix of the Senegalese economy, in which the Mourides were the predominant force. Secondly, after Cheikh Amadu Bamba's death there was some in-fighting among his sons related to the legitimacy of the leadership of the *tariqa*, which brought the French to control the succession directly to ensure a leadership that did not threaten their rule. However, colonial rulers did not interfere in the in-fights of the brotherhood to fragment the *tariqa*.

Consecutive Mouride migrant waves came to be established mainly in New York and in other North American towns like Chicago. From street selling and cab driving in the 1990s, many *talibés* evolved to create their own businesses especially in the service and commercial sectors. After 1995 they settled in Harlem and “created a sort of economic and cultural enclave, which is now known as Little Senegal. The enclave functions as both a residential neighborhood and a work area.”¹³⁶ In 2001 the growth of the Mouride community was considered at around 5000 to 7000 in New York, and perhaps 10,000 to 12,000 in the entire United States.¹³⁷ This growth entailed the foundation of new *dahiras*, perhaps 30 *dahiras* in 2001, which are affiliated to specific Mouride leaders and lineages, and reflect the power struggle within maraboutic lineages established in Senegal. However, there was an umbrella *dahira*, with specific powers, which brought together the Mourides of New York. It was created by Cheikh Mourtala, the youngest son of Cheikh Amadu Bamba, during his visit to this town in 1986.

In bridging the differences of the Mourides trust is central “The ability of the *dahira* to foster mutual trust among the Mourides is rooted in its capacity to promote these shared values...like fraternity, discipline, and an ethical code of behavior.”¹³⁸ Although some of the Mouride businessmen performed some work illegally, they had the trust of their customers to whom they offered an alternative to the costly and complicated procedures of the banks and international shipping companies. This trust which is rooted in the brotherhood is an important element for the construction of the networks which, in turn, support the business of Mourides emigrants.”¹³⁹

Although the Mouride diaspora is global, Africa represents the main destination for the Senegalese migrants; around 58 percent of the departures, between 1988 and 1992 (EMUS). According to Papa Demba Fall Senegalese migration in Africa, linked to economic factors, follow three migrant fields: first the old destinations with strong migrant stock like Ivory Coast or Gabon; second the spaces of transit like Morocco, that take in the candidates for the exodus towards Europe via the “strait of death”; third, other new spaces of deployment, particularly South Africa after the dismantling of the Apartheid regime.¹⁴⁰

B. African Migration to South Africa

Since the ending of apartheid in 1994, South Africa has been confronted with a tide of humanity fleeing from neighboring countries, escaping from economic hardship, civil

Khayelitsha, and Philippi. In 1997, an organization called *Masakhane*, which means “building one another” in isiXhosa was created “to unite township Muslims, to provide coherent leadership and direction, mature arbitration and qualified education to African Muslims.”¹⁵⁹

In general, the number of Muslims has continued to grow and people have come to embrace Islam of their own accord,¹⁶⁰ despite the fact that within township Muslim communities there remain questions about lack of facilities, centres of education or mosques in an environment of poverty and unemployment. As mentioned above, debates continue on the relationship between the new Muslims and the established Muslims. The racial and class dissimilarities among them, with the absence of one united leadership are highlighted at particular moments, for example when established Muslims send their economical help to other areas of the Muslim world. People complained that “while the economic and social needs (here) have not been met yet, there is a swift reaction to the plight of Muslims elsewhere in the world. Aid in form of cash, food or medical supplies, has been provided to Bosnia (1997), Gujarat (2002), Palestine (2001), Afghanistan (2002), and Iraq (2003).”¹⁶¹

In addition, there is another factor contributing to differentiating African Muslims from the established Muslims, namely their search for an Islam connected with their African historical roots, free from an “Indian” or “Malay” interpretation of Islam. Furthermore, they look for independence from aid, particularly Indian material help that they see as paternalism. The subject of racism, as a reflection of South Africa society, stays an important and unresolved matter among South African Muslims.

VII. The Mourides in Cape Town

A. First Mourides in Cape Town.

In apartheid times the Senegalese supported the anti-apartheid struggle. An example of this was the conference organized by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), which took place in Dakar, Senegal from 9th to 12th July 1987. The group involved comprised South Africans, of whom the majority were Afrikaans-speaking and a delegation from the African National Congress. The President of Senegal, Abdou Diouf, received the participants to whom he was exceptionally hospitable.¹⁶² “In the apartheid times in South Africa we supported people who fought apartheid, even when Abou Diouf was president of Senegal he was against apartheid. When the system of apartheid finished in South Africa, I decided to come here although my parents thought that it wasn’t a good idea because of the crime and that the influence of apartheid wasn’t finished”, explains Ibrahim Sarr, a Tijani trader who sells bags at the market on the Cape Town Parade.¹⁶³

The first Senegalese Mourides, who arrived from Senegal in South Africa in 1994, were part of a group of 22 Senegalese which included four Tijanis. From Johannesburg, where they landed initially, five Mourides travelled to Cape Town and established themselves in the Down Town Lodge. From the beginning, just as happened in the Mouride Diaspora in Paris, Marseille, or New York, the place was transformed into the *dahira*, where these *talibé* lived and shared daily expenses together. About seven months later, they relocated to Sea Point where they stayed in two locations, one after the other, for around a year or two. Afterwards they moved to Mowbray where they had the *dahira* first at 22 Station Rd., and then at 11 Strubens Rd where the *dahira* is still located.¹⁶⁴ Wherever they moved in the early days, the *dahira* served as a residence at the same time. It appears that there is a similarity between these migrant settlements, and the early groups of disciplined young men, in the times of the founder of the order, who left their families and villages. They worked hard cultivating new lands in the hostile environment of the bush, while singing *qasidas* and reciting Qur’an, under the authority of their cheikh.

As the group increased through migration of new Senegalese coming to Cape Town, they rented flats for single men in different areas close to their business activities, and some of them started families.

B. Reasons for migration to South Africa

There is a close relationship between Islam, trade, and travelling. Muslim merchants reached China via the Silk Route in the first decades of Islam. Sub-Saharan Muslim traders transmitted peacefully the message of the Prophet of Islam throughout IX-X centuries,¹⁶⁵ and Indian Muslims traders did the same in South East Asia later.

The Mourides carry on with this tradition. Migration is one of the features of Mouride *tariqa*. The usual economic explanation does not illuminate sufficiently the complexity of how the Mourides perceive and live the experience of migration, as we will see below. Shahid Vawda points out, that the “miracle of democratic transition and continuing stability exerts a powerful attraction for African adventurers, professionals and entrepreneurs.”¹⁶⁶

This is the case of someone, like Abdul Saar, one of the pioneer Mourides in Cape Town and president of the *dahira* of Mowbray, who came in the middle of the 1990s to uncharted territory hoping to find opportunities. Then, in spite of the numerous obstacles he faced at this time, such as being unable to work in the streets,¹⁶⁷ he found room to develop his trading skills. Abdul Sarr, who has been in South Africa for 24 years, now has a quality leather bag shop in a gallery close to Green Market Square.

However, the majority of the people who arrived in South Africa from West African countries would have gone to Europe or the USA if these countries had not been restricted to them. Frequently for most of them, South Africa is the second choice, and several of them have even been in Western countries before. This illustrates what Bouillon observes:

The fact is that the opening up of South Africa's borders coincided with a further tightening up on immigration in Europe, following the signature of the Schengen Convention on the nineteen June 1990, with visa restrictions, asylum restrictions, naturalization restrictions, expulsions of 'clandestine' immigrants, voluntary repatriation schemes, etc., being applied. In other words, migration to South Africa is not an isolated phenomenon; it is directly connected to the already long history of African migration to Europe and to European policies on that matter.¹⁶⁸

Other interviewees have also confirmed this interpretation. They came to Cape Town because of the obstacles they encountered trying to go to Europe or the

USA, as in the case of Khadim, a young Mouride, who unsuccessfully tried to migrate to Europe three times before coming to South Africa.

Apart from the tightening up of immigration in Western countries, there are other reasons, like the difficulty of trading in Europe and the open opportunities in South Africa, which have driven people to come to Cape Town. Murtar, a 45 year old Mouride and an experienced trader in African Arts, who works in Green Market Square pointed out that, "I was working in Belgium and in France from 1985 to the 1990s, working in African arts, but little by little the business became difficult in Europe, and I heard that Cape Town had a lot of tourists. This is the reason for leaving Europe for Cape Town."¹⁶⁹ A mixture of motives for coming to Cape Town, such as adventure, work, and looking for personal transformation, emerges from Modou Tall's statement: "Because I want to learn a lot. If I did not come to Cape Town, I cannot work, cannot get work. You can see here different people. I can be different man. So I can learn to be different man."¹⁷⁰

For the Mourides the endurance of hardship and being far from home, following the example of Amadu Bamba in the years of his exile to Gabon and Mauritania, represents a source of knowledge. "Many scholars can confirm that for the Senegalese, travel is an important *rite of passage* to acquire manhood, training and knowledge."¹⁷¹ This self-image which connects travel, knowledge and hardship is reflected by Murtar saying: "When you leave your country, you leave your mother, you leave the people behind, and it is painful I must admit, that this is painful, but also you find in these things when you travel, that there is a lesson, there is a lesson."¹⁷²

Furthermore, it should be noted that exile is prestigious for the Mourides. These travellers have the support of their families and the Senegalese society, which sees them as contemporary heroes: "Many famous musicians...sing about migrants and peddlers symbols of contemporary solidarity, because of their solidarity and their labours far from home for the wellbeing of their families."¹⁷³

To look at the way that the Mourides articulate their experience and have expanded in Western Cape society, can be explained by dividing it into two interlinked areas, although both, in fact, are part of the same united ethos and cannot be separated. On the one hand, there are their urban associations, the *dahiras*, and on the other hand, there is the gradual expansion of their trading business. As Cheikh Kebe points out: "This is the mission of the Mourides, two-fold: The teaching of

Allah and His beloved Prophet, Muhammad Rasullulah SAW, through the teaching of Cheikh Amadu Bamba, and working hard in an honest way.”¹⁷⁴

C. Mouride organization in Cape Town

The diaspora culture in Cape Town has its base in the *dahira*, which continues the traditional Mouride rituals in a systematic manner. According to Serigné Diop, in 2007 there were 400 *talibés* established in Cape Town and the surrounding towns.¹⁷⁵ This number is growing. They represent the majority among the Senegalese in the area. Khadim says: “I can’t count, 90 percent of the Senegalese here are Mourides.”¹⁷⁶ They had only one *dahira*, based in Mowbray until 2007 when a new generation of *talibés*, who disagreed with the procedure of the *dahira* and decided to follow another way, left the *dahira* and created the Cheikh Ahmed Bamba Foundation. After 2000, new people came to Cape Town with new ideas that were not heard by the Mourides established in Cape Town.

The *dahira* established in Mowbray, is part of the general Mouride *dahira* in South Africa, which has established *dahiras* throughout the country, in the most important towns like Johannesburg, Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Port Elizabeth.¹⁷⁷

The Mowbray *dahira* in a suburb close to the centre of Cape Town is in a small detached house, surrounded by a courtyard, in a quiet street, which looked a bit abandoned from the outside during my visits in 2007. Subsequently, on another visit in 2008 I found that they had renovated and painted the place. The community of Mourides rents the house, and it has four rooms and one office. Some *talibés* live there, and they have a room for important guests coming from Touba. However, as the Mourides always do in their *dahiras*, they have transformed the main room into a symbolic representation of the space of Touba, hanging on the walls pictures of the Touba mosque and displaying a big model of the second mosque, which is being built there with contributions from the Mourides of South Africa. “Mourides abroad continue, in their own way and less dramatically, to recreate Touba in their several settings.”¹⁷⁸

The *dahira* serves as the centre where a regular group of around 25 or 30 men meet every Thursday and Saturday.¹⁷⁹ They participate in singing *qasidas*, making *dhikr*, and giving money according to a person’s income and capacity. Only men participate in the *dikhr* session. It appears that there are not many Senegalese women in Cape Town, maybe one or two, but they do not come to the *dahira*. Most

of the local women, who have married the Senegalese Mourides, have become Muslim, but are not active *talibés* either. "Before we used to teach them, but now they do not go to the *dahira*," said the chairman of the Mowbray *dahira* referring to the women.¹⁸⁰ I asked Khadim if women attend the meetings in the *dahira* of the Foundation at Kensington, and he said that, "the place is small and there is not space for everybody. But soon we will inaugurate our own place, and after we inaugurate the house we bought, we foresee a place for the children."¹⁸¹

On this subject, it would be appropriate to draw a comparison between Mourides and Tijanis in Cape Town, because in contrast to the Mourides, among the Tijanis, women take part in the regular *dhikr* evenings: "For the purposes of all ritual activities, the women, rather than occupying a separate room, just keep apart from the men by praying and sitting towards the back of the main room, which allows them a perfect view of all proceedings and easy hearing of all litanies and talks."¹⁸² Moreover, some women, who became members of the *tariqa*, are very involved in the activities of their *zawiya*.

I had the occasion to attend a session of singing *qasidas* and *dhikr* at Mowbray *dahira*. The participants gathered in the main room and sang the *qasidas* for around one and a half hours, then they stood up in a circle with both hands close to their ears and repeated in loud voice "La illaha ila llah"¹⁸³ changing tunes some times and moving their bodies lightly for a period of two hours. After the session, they socialized and ate together.

This is also an opportunity at which they get to know about one another's needs and about how to attend to them. This is often the case when newcomers arrive in Cape Town and need support from the group. This can take the form of lending money, as was the case of Papa Abdou Thian, paying the rent, or providing accommodation. "When I came here, you know that the Senegalese live together, with my nephew here, automatically I had a place with them," said Khadim.¹⁸⁴ More importantly experience is shared, Modou said: "They help me with the rent, the experience. Experience is better than money...because money can finish, but experience...they show me how Cape Town is."¹⁸⁵ The Mourides in Cape Town as well as in Durban and Johannesburg do not depend on the help of local NGOs or local Muslims; they "rely on their own networks and organizational capacities to survive."¹⁸⁶

According to Muhammad Shafick Fackier, one of the few local Capetonian Mourides, the *dahira* has a simple organization that includes a chairman, who is one of the oldest Mourides in Cape Town, the people collecting weekly donations, a cook, and somebody in charge of receiving the guests from Touba.

Due to the fact that there are many Mourides abroad, “the brotherhood has maintained its close ties by emphasizing the relationship between the Cheikh and the *talibé*. For a migrant, who may spend many years outside Senegal, the Mouride *dahira* is crucial in maintaining contact with his Cheikh and with Touba.”¹⁸⁷ All the Mouride interviewees asserted that the *dahira* depends on the Khaliph directly. He has given a particular task to the *talibés* in South Africa, which consists of financing the building of a second mosque in Touba. The money collected on Saturdays is sent to Touba for this purpose. “We do not need the government finances, we do not need any finance, we can make it...,”¹⁸⁸ says Modou proudly. Other people from the *tariqa* have offered to support them, but they have declined, because they know that they have to stick to the command of the Khaliph. Only the *talibés* of South Africa are allowed to contribute to the building of the mosque, “in following this command there is an immense spiritual reward,” observes Shafick.¹⁸⁹ As a result of this weekly collection from the talibes in South Africa, the building of the mosque has started and it is half way built.

Moreover, there is constant contact and travelling between Touba and Cape Town. The *dahira* often receive visits from different *shaykhs*, who act as reminders of Touba and revitalize the links within the *tariqa*. Frequently they bring videos and tape-recording of events happening in Touba. In addition, the *talibés* travel to Senegal each year if they can; some of them have wives and children there.

“At the centre of the nervous system of the Mouride brotherhood is the town of Touba.”¹⁹⁰ Touba is the second largest urban centre of Senegal, in a process of expansion, and it has a singular character; “It is a state within the state.”¹⁹¹ On the one hand, it represents a territorial dissidence due to its autonomous legal status under the secular state of Senegal, their residents recognise only the eminent authority of the Khaliph. On the other hand, it is considered symbolically as the centre of the universe by the Mourides, as a secure and ideal sacred place of return, where every *talibé* wishes to have a home.¹⁹² Modou says, “Touba is a place of Mourides. It’s a place ...they keep well in Touba ...it’s the best place ...I want to be there. All the time in my life....This place, mama, is the best place of the world... If I go there I look like I’m in

Janna (the Garden)...That's only that place I can have that feeling, and the only place. It's Touba. ”¹⁹³

However, this town can be seen as simultaneously opposed to the process of globalization rooted in the Mouride tradition, and as open to modernisation, inasmuch as the city has become a powerful economic centre nourished by the traffic of wealth generated from the diaspora. In fact, there is a progressive use of new information and communication technology in Touba making this large group of *talibés* dispersed by the migration more efficient and united.

There are two important occasions, on which the whole community of the Mourides in Cape Town gather. One is an Islamic event, the *mawlud*,¹⁹⁴ which Mourides and Tijanis celebrated together in 2007, although in 2008 each group commemorated this event separately.¹⁹⁵ The other is the *magal*¹⁹⁶ the main festivity for the *tariqa*. Women and children attend the occasion, and other Senegalese are invited to join. In Touba the grand *magal*, is celebrated annually by Cheikh Amadu Bamba's disciples to commemorate his return from the exile, as “the testimony more authentic of his triumph over the colonizers.”¹⁹⁷ Thus, this celebration for “exiled” Mourides acquires a symbolic mystical value, in which their exile links them to Amadu Bamba's trials, and to his courage, pride, and determination.

As we have indicated above, in recent years there have been significant discrepancies among the *talibés* linked to the internal and external dynamics of the *dahira*, which in 2007 caused a group of them to leave Mowbray's *dahira*, and to start another *dahira* in Kensington in the house of a *talibé* in Brooklyn. Even this split was manifested in the celebration of the *magal* in 2008, which they kept separately. It seems that these differences are a sign that internal changes are linked to the way the Mouride diaspora accommodates to the circumstances they face in the host country.

According to Khadim,¹⁹⁸ one of the *talibés* who left Mowbray, the division originated in 2004 when Serigné Mbacké Falilou found economic differences among the *talibés*, as he visited different places of South Africa, and recommended that in Cape Town people have to help each other to improve and to see to their needs. He went to Port Elizabeth, where the Mourides had a close relationship with the Mayor of the town and he said the same things. After that, the Mayor travelled to Touba meeting the Khaliph and other shaykhs there. She was impressed by the work of the Mourides. When she came back, she promised to help a group of *talibés* in South Africa to fulfil their intention of creating a legal organization in terms of South

African law. Thus Serigné Saliou Mbacké, the Khaliph-General of the Mourides, sent a letter to Cheikh Kebe encouraging the creation of the Foundation.¹⁹⁹ Nowadays, as a result of this collaboration the Cheikh Amadu Bamba Foundation is a legal entity with established address in Port Elizabeth.

Forming this Foundation in terms of South African law became, and still is, a controversial issue among the Mourides, because one group disagreed with it: “We told them to leave the *dahira* because they wanted to transform the *dahira* into a Foundation. You do not want to introduce South African rules in the *dahira*. If there is a Foundation, you have to explain everything to the government. The Foundation has to follow the laws for Foundations in South Africa, and we do not want to follow their laws, but the traditional laws of the Mourides.”²⁰⁰

Different views on how to use the economic resources of the *talibés* have played an important part in the division as well. On the one hand, the supporters of the Foundation consider that the money collected by them has to be directed not only to the building of the mosque in Touba, but also to support the needs of the *talibés* in Cape Town: “When we collect money we put the money in a special account for Touba, and in another one for helping people, because sometimes people need help.”²⁰¹ On the other hand, the people from the Mowbray *dahira* consider that the main amount of the collection has to be sent to Touba for the building of the mosque.

More significantly the transformations developing in the brotherhood are reflected in their different relationship with the banks: “Now the world is changing and you know when the world changes money has to go through the banks, money has to go through the banks. You can’t do anything without getting in touch with other ideas”, says Murtar²⁰², a member of the Foundation. Therefore they have opened an account to put all the donations there to operate from the bank and at the same time, they have a loan to buy a house in Cape Town where the Foundation is situated.²⁰³ These decisions put them into conflict with the procedures of the Mowbray *dahira*, according to Abdul Sarr:

...the *dahira* does not borrow money to buy a house. Every month they (the Foundation’s supporters) pay ...to the banks. But the Mourides have to be free from these links which tie them down. They have to be free to leave the place when they want to. But if you have a loan for 10 or 20 years, you are bound to the place. We never asked for any help from anybody, nor from the bank. We got the money from ourselves. The Cheikh told us to do in this way and God will help you”, says Abdul Sarr.²⁰⁴

Furthermore, it appears that another element that is a source of dissensions is the close connection that the Foundation supporters have with the maraboutic lineage of the family of Cheikh Muhammad Falilou Mbacké, who was the second Mouride Khaliph. Something that appears to support this supposition is the fact that the visiting shaykhs to the Foundation *dahira* are from this maraboutic lineage. When they officially opened the house for the Foundation, on the 6 April 2008, they received a visit from the son of Cheikh Muhammad Falilou, Cheikh Awa Balla who afterwards flew to Port Elizabeth, on the invitation of the Mayor of that city.

A cause of the division we have described is perceived by Khadim in this way: "When they have differences each Mouride finds its way of working is better than the other. The problem of the Mourides are there, 'I see better than you-this is the problem here in Cape Town.'"²⁰⁵

It seems that this new generation of Mourides who arrived in Cape Town after 2000 desired to give more dynamism to the group. The goals of the Foundation are to spread the message of Cheikh Amadu Bamba and to follow the instructions of Cheikh Mouhamadu Murtada Mbacké, who was one of the most influential itinerant Cheikhs in the diaspora. When he visited Johannesburg in 2000, he told the *talibés* to establish Qur'anic schools and centres of Islamic education for the families of the Mourides. Indeed, these instructions were the same as those given by Cheikh Murtada Mbacké on his annual visits to the communities established in France, Italy, and USA where he recommended the setting up of these centres.²⁰⁶

Now the Mourides have two places in Cape Town one, in Mowbray and another in Brooklyn, which was inaugurated in April, 2008.²⁰⁷ Here the Foundation has its headquarters in a simple clean house, which contains a bare carpeted prayer room, which, like the prayer room in Mowbray *dahira*, symbolically represents Touba. On two opposites walls there are, symmetrically hung, two pairs of big pictures of the well-known and emblematic image of Cheikh Amadu Bamba standing up, with the name of the Foundation written below, and on the other two walls are identical pictures of the mosque of Touba.

Looking at the whole diaspora picture it seems that the establishment of the Foundation constitutes an important step in making the settlement of the brotherhood in Western Cape, not only internally more open to the participation of the *talibés*,²⁰⁸ but also more institutionalised and efficient. According to Cheikh Kebe' views, the

President of the foundation: "From 1993 to 2007 we were a community that just was doing their work in no formal way, and the authorities ...the relationship we have with the authorities is better now. They start to recognize, we are telling them our projects, we are telling them what we are doing, and at the same time we have some feedback from them."²⁰⁹

The President of the Foundation is aware of the value of dealing with how the community grows at this new stage: "In conjunction with the South African laws, because the community is growing, I'm not talking only about us or our wives, we have South African people too, who are Mourides...we have created the Cheikh Ahmed Bamba Foundation. We try to make the South African community, our brothers in Islam and too...any other religions to know, to understand what we are doing...And we can write to any authority, we can talk to any authority in order to establish ourselves more in South Africa."²¹⁰

Moreover, this includes the importance of owning a house in Cape Town for the Foundation, in order to strengthen their independent position in Capetonian society: "And this is today, as you witness, this is a property bought in the name of the Foundation for our brothers here in Cape Town. No more renting, no more disturbing, no more doing certain activities, and you are called by the neighbours to stop it or something like that. This is our own property, it is registered, and this is where we belong, and hold it."²¹¹ In addition to continuing the Mouride practices, they plan to create on the new property one school for Senegalese children to understand their religion. They also have the intention of opening their doors for the people who live there, to everyone. "Nobody will need to pay."²¹² Murtar adds, "(it) does not matter if they are Xhosa, Zulu, Malawians, from Swaziland or from Zimbabwe, the house is open for every body."²¹³ To accomplish this education facility they are planning to bring a teacher of Qur'an from Senegal, offered to them by the son of Cheikh Murtada.²¹⁴ They also have a project to establish a website and to organize conferences with renowned lecturers from abroad to spread the teachings of Cheikh Amadu Bamba.

Such projects give a glimpse of the new strategies that the Mourides in Cape Town are implementing, although not without internal differences, in order to face ongoing changes. They illustrate that the concern of the brotherhood is not only based on preserving its spiritual and social legacy, but also on expanding it. It is something that could be significant because it is not an isolated initiative happening in

they have decided to pay the house-loan to the bank before the end of the year by making a special collection among the *talibés* of South Africa.

A quote from Mourtala Mboup serves as an apt conclusion: “La formidable aptitude du Mouridisme à s’adapter aux changements semble encore une fois mise en oeuvre Ont peut affirmer que jamais les preoccupation des Senegalais n’avaient etés aussi orientés vers la recherché d’activités dourables.”²¹⁹

However, the Mourides do not limit themselves to relationships within their own group; they are also close to other West Africans, above all to other Senegalese brotherhoods like the Tijaniyya.²²⁰ Individuals behave differently depending on whether they live in their own country, where they have community links and social pressures or they live in a foreign country with other social pressures and challenges. As a result, the more the migrants are united, the better they negotiate their integration in the host society. Thus, they learn to overcome barriers that could be more numerous in their own country.²²¹ A good example of this in Cape Town is that members of these *turuq* -- the Tijaniyya and the Muridiyya -- are part of a Senegalese association created in 2005, which includes 350 Senegalese of different affiliations from the Western Cape Province (Strand, Muizenberg, Wynberg.) The members are Tijanis, Mourides, Muslims not attached to any *tariqa* and also a small group of around four Christians. This association pursues the goal of helping Senegalese people in practical matters like business or repatriation, or helping sick people and sometimes helping South Africans who are in need too.²²² The association follows South African laws, and it “has grown in numbers and collects more money to help people. Each member gives R20 every week.”²²³ Although they do not have their own meeting place, they usually attend at the Salt River Hall. They choose the leaders of the association every second year, “We vote for them without thinking if they are Tijani or Mouride, but thinking of the people who have the qualities to do the job.”²²⁴ The President and the vice president are Tijanis and the treasurer is a Mouride. “We can say that the Mourides are the majority there, although not all the Mourides are there, many people from the Mowbray *dahira* are not members of the Association.”²²⁵

To increase the bonds between the Tijanis and the Mourides in Cape Town they were at the time of the writing of this thesis preparing a big gathering for the 25 December 2008 to recite the Qur’an.

D. Trading in the Western Cape

Green Market Square, situated in the heart of the tourist downtown of Cape Town, is representative of the social mix and dynamic transformation of this beautiful city. Behind the square, the impressive presence of Table Mountain towers over the high buildings populated by international executives, local business people, and thousands of office workers. Visitors and locals sit around the Square's small cafes drinking coffee and having meals. The centre of the Square is an effervescent picturesque African market where colourful stools display orderly ranks of African objects, attractive to the tourists, particularly those interested in African arts and crafts. The traders come from different African countries: Congo, Cameroon, Senegal and elsewhere on the continent. Among them, according to the Tijanis, the Mouride have a predominant presence because they are better organized, and the Senegalese Mourides number more than Tijanis.²²⁶ At first sight, it is hard to distinguish them from other West Africans. Although some of them sometimes dress in Senegalese *boubous*, the majority wear Western clothes like jeans and American baseball caps. All of these African traders have the same way of life, sitting on the stools six days a week, all year round. Under a thin sheet of plastic, which is their only protection, they endure the searing heat of the Cape's hot summers and the cold and endless downpours of the city's long winters; they share food and drinks and give to the street children and beggars who approach them. Nevertheless, the Mourides have firm ideas of their external identity: "If you find a Mouride in the street, and you know their ways, you will notice he is a Mouride. We have our way of greeting, we have our way of talking to each other, this is because there is not me, there is not you, but there is the Cheikh ...It is the model of the Cheikh ...It is like that, we help each other. If you have a problem, you go to see a Mouride. They try to help, but if they can't, they speak with you or they will give you advice. This is Mouridism."²²⁷

It should be noted that the situation for the traders wanting a place in the market has improved in the last years: "Before there was a committee led by a man from Lebanon, who hired the space from the council, and then he rented to the people. He had a list, and when somebody wanted to leave the stall, one on the list could buy it from him. But from 2007 until now the city council have taken over, and if you want to have a stall you register on the council list until somebody leaves a stall free, but now you do not buy it ...before the owner of the stall had to pay R500 a week, and now we pay the city council R400 a month."²²⁸ A similar system exists for the other

markets in Cape Town, the Parade, Wynberg, Claremont, and Bellville (where the Mourides are involved) although the traders consider that the government authorities should upgrade the markets to protect the merchants from the inclemency of the weather.²²⁹

Business is an independent and individual matter for the traders: "I do my own business, because I want to earn, free and fair ... I want to be all the time the boss of myself."²³⁰ Senegalese sellers do not share the economic risks and successes of their business. These are his or her own affair: "in selling everyone plays his own game."²³¹ In the words of Bruno Riccio,

Paradoxically, this individual and entrepreneurial feature coexists with, and is even embedded within the more visible communitarian and collectivist code of social solidarity which has been emphasised by so many studies...Group internal reciprocity does not prevent the development of different individual trajectories and ways of representing themselves as autonomous individuals with self-worth.²³²

Thus, it seems that this apparent dichotomy between independent entrepreneur, and a network that relies on solidarity and mutual help, is the basis of the relative success of the Mouride diaspora of which the traders are the spearhead.

The main field of business for the Mourides in Cape Town is trading: "...importing arts ... African arts, you know? Others are in the importing of clothing, others in the fashion business, but they are getting shops importing and buying from the local market as well as in selling them, do you understand? So that is the field where we are more focused."²³³ In business Mourides do not limit themselves to Mourides, contacts are open to other Senegalese and to people from the host countries. As the interviewees said, most of the Mourides get their merchandize from wholesalers in the town, who are considered fair in their trade transactions. They are South Africans, Guineans or Cameroonians: "We work together. The wholesalers need us, and we need them."²³⁴ Most of the interviewees said that there are no Mouride wholesalers in Cape Town although Ibrahim Sarr said that he knew one.

Those involved in African crafts get masks from the Ivory Coast, Cameroon, or Mali, through Guinean or Cameroonian wholesalers, some of them based at the "Pan-African market" in Long Street. There also exists transnational trading in Africa in which Mourides participate. Murtar says referring to African traders: "People leave, there are travellers who leave, and they prepare a container to come here. We

pay for it, if they have the opportunity to go, they go and bring things.”²³⁵ This system works through trust and cooperation. Khadim, who used to sell travel bags in Green Market Square, and got his merchandise from a wholesaler in Cape Town, thinks that the economic transactions with them are clear and correct. They do not discuss prices, there is no credit, and they pay cash.²³⁶

The Cape summer, from around the end of November to March, is a good time for the street sellers to get customers. In those months they follow opportunities along the coast close to the beaches, Muizenberg, Simons Town or Boulders, and the West Coast and they are not afraid to explore new territories: “They are very resourceful, they move all the time looking for better opportunities, they expand out of the borders of Cape Town into rural areas.”²³⁷ says Muhammad Shafick a Capetonian, who became *talibé* in 1997.

Through the years, this group of Senegalese has taken root in the urban space in the process of establishing themselves in Cape Town. Several of them have abandoned open markets to launch small shops in town, sell clothes on the Parade and sell jewellery or leather bags in Burg Street close to Green Market Square. Whereas there are no evident signs of Mouride identity in the space of Green Market Square, the shops show their link to Touba more clearly, having pictures of Touba or Cheikh Amadu Bamba hanging on the walls, or calling the shop openly Touba or displaying subtle signs, as a written sentence on top of the shelves saying ‘Darou Khoudus,’ which means “House of the Most Holy.”

One of the important concerns for migrants is to have legal status in the country. When the Mouride first arrived to South Africa some of them applied for refugee status, because after the victory of Abdou Diouf and the Socialist Party the Mourides had certain tensions with the ruling party.²³⁸ Bouillon says that 669 Senegalese applied for asylum in the period from September 1993 to July 1996.²³⁹ These *talibés* claimed that they were persecuted and under surveillance and would face prosecution, although after 2000 when Abdou Diouf’s opponent, Abdoulaye Wade, a Mouride himself, was elected as the third President of Senegal, the situation changed and they applied for tourist visas, for visiting family and friends. Khadim says: “Some Senegalese got visas because they married South African women, others brought work permits, and others got permits as refugees.”²⁴⁰ Abdulahi Thiam confirms that,

Before for the Senegalese it was very easy. You got your visa free at the airport and you could stay in the country, but after 1998, the situation became more difficult and you have to get your visa in Senegal. For this reason one way the Senegalese found to stay in the country was to marry a local woman. This has produced an increase in marriages between Senegalese and local women, some of them false and others true marriages. It is hard to tell how many people have true marriages, but many are true, they live together and have children.²⁴¹

Despite the urban centre being more expensive, the tendency of the Mourides from the beginning was to live in the centre close to the trading and tourist places or in suburbs not far from it. They followed the same pattern as the Mourides in Durban described by Shahid Vawda.²⁴²

From the initial group of five people who lived together in cheap hotels, they have expanded. Some of them live with their South African wives and children, and other Mourides too, or share flats for single men, like Madou who lives in Kensington in a rented place that he shares with five other Senegalese. Some of the interviewees live close to the centre of town, or further away in Strand or in Mowbray close to the *dahira*. None of them live or have lived in the sprawling black townships on the edges of Cape Town, not only because these are far from the trading centres, but also because the Mourides avoid places that can be a source of conflict for them.

E. Mouride relationship with the society of Cape Town

The issue of the Mourides' relationship with South Africans will be dealt with in this section under four headings: the relationship between the Mourides and the Muslims of Cape Town; the Tijani ideas about the Mourides; how xenophobia is perceived by the Mourides; and finally how they see their contribution to South African society.

1. Relationship between the Mourides and Muslims of Cape Town

In their daily lives, the Mourides, as individuals in Cape Town, are exposed to social contact in their living areas, in their trading places, when they marry South African women and when they travel or go to the mosque, because the Mourides pray in whatever mosque is close to them. From these experiences they acquire an understanding of the host society and they have constructed an image of it. Most Mourides see Cape Town as a place of good opportunities where they can develop their business: "South Africa is a rich country. Cape Town is a golden place

compared to Senegal which is a poor country,” says Muhammad Shafick. The *talibés* dedicate most of their efforts to improving their business, but in spite of the economic advantages of South Africa compared to Senegal, most Mourides have set their minds on going back to Senegal: “I would like to have other things at home, to do something like to open a shop for myself, with my children, working with my brothers,” says Murtar.²⁴³ The education of their children, in particular, worries them. Abdul Sarr, who feels at home in South Africa, would however like to take his son to Senegal, if his South African wife agrees.

Something on which most of the interviewees agree is that Capetonian society is a closed society that needs a transformation, “because they do not know other parts of the world, and they think they are better.”²⁴⁴ One of the areas, where this closeness is manifest is in the relationship between the local Muslims and those from elsewhere on the continent. On the one hand, it seems that the Mourides themselves, who are scattered in different areas, keep their distance from their neighbours, even if they are Muslims. Modou, who stays opposite a mosque in a Muslim area, does not have much of a relationship with his Muslim neighbours. For instance, in Ramadan neither they nor their neighbours invite each other to break the fast: “You are not family with them, you know? That’s why ...its not easy,” he says.²⁴⁵ The Mourides break the fast in their house or in the *dahira*.

On the other hand, it is also true that when dealing with the subject of the relationship between Capetonian Muslims and West African Muslims, the Mourides as well as the Tijani perceive that there is an ignorance and misunderstanding among South African Muslims about black African Muslims.

When they (South African Muslims), see black skin from Africa (they think) that they only started being Muslim yesterday, or you have been converted in a very recent past to be Muslim. Which is not the case of the Mouride Community. I’m telling you...I was five years old... as far I can remember my fore, fore grand parents were Mourides, you understand? We are born being Mourides, we were born in knowing the teaching of the Cheikh, ... in the recent past they (South African Muslims) used to do that: they were five or six people who came to see us, this is what they called the *jamaa*, to teach us, and whatever they were saying to us, we knew better than them. They never realized we have *hafiz*, they never realized that someone like us memorised the Qur’an when he was already eleven twelve, thirteen years old. You understand? Now their perception is going away a little bit, we try to benefit from them, and they are benefiting from us²⁴⁶

In the same way Khadim expresses the distance, which exists between both Muslims groups: “You know that for some of the South African Muslims it is difficult to understand, that if you have a black skin you are or not a Muslim. I was born Muslim, I grew up Muslim, and I will also die Muslim, inshallah.... If they look at me as a Muslim all to the good, if they consider me, as belonging to another sect, this is not my problem. The things I have to do for my religion I’m going to do with them or without them.”²⁴⁷

“This ignorance and separation is mainly a heritage of the apartheid regime, which kept people divided,” observes Muhammad Shafick.²⁴⁸ And for the Mourides this ignorance impedes the relationship from developing, because it involves lack of knowledge and racial prejudices towards them.

Therefore the Mourides feel that although things are changing a little bit, they need more time and work from both sides to progress in getting to know each other, “Now they have started to understand little by little that there are Muslims from Western Africa, who are true Muslims. Some of them (Mourides)... go to *Jumu’a* and to the mosque, and South African people are starting to understand that in Western Africa, there are also Muslims.”²⁴⁹

2. - The Mourides as seen by the Tijanis

By way of introduction we will briefly review the Tijaniyya in Cape Town. Since its establishment in 2002, the Tijaniyya *tariqa* in Cape Town has grown rapidly.²⁵⁰ Unlike other West African *turuq*, it has not remained within the bounds of the migrant Senegalese community, but has spread to the wider South African community. The Tijaniyya has managed to gain *followers* from the different South African Muslim ethnic groups, namely “Malays” or Indians, as well as attracting new Black South African Muslims. The *zawiya* in Gugulethu has been a key factor in attracting black South Africans to Islam and integrating them into the *tariqa*.²⁵¹

We have...there in Gugulethu at the *zawiya* of shaykh Hassan Cissé; there are a lot of people of this kind who go there. They are Kalaki who go, even they are the Xhosa. We pray and we do *dhikr* together. Right, they love us and also we find we are the same family, we pray together, we do *dhikr* together, we eat together, we drink together, we have fun together... I find we are the same family, there are no problems.²⁵²

By the end of 2007, the Tijaniyya *tariqa* had several *zawiyas* in Cape Town, including those in Gugulethu, Woodstock, Bonteheuwel, Cravenby, as well as *murids* from areas such as Bridgetown, Bishop Lavis, Valhalla Park, and Strand. Fakruddin Owaisi, one of the *muqaddams* of the Tijaniyya, estimates there are now approximately 200 South African Tijanis, and claims that there are people taking *baya* on a weekly basis. As a result of the growth in the number of *talibés*, the South African Tijanis decided to create an organization which would unite them all under one banner.²⁵³

Compared to the Mouride brotherhood the Tijaniyya has dedicated more attention to spreading their *tariqa* in the Western Cape and to educating the new members. They have edited a booklet in English for the benefit of South African *murids*, since they come from different backgrounds and speak different languages, in order to summarize the basic teachings and practices of the Tijaniyya, and to facilitate their memorisation.²⁵⁴ Of this relationship between Senegalese and Capetonians in the same *tariqa*, Susana Molins observes: “For many of the Tijanis I spoke to, the issue of the Tijaniyya as an integrating and unifying force among the different races and ethnic groups was quite important.”²⁵⁵

Both Senegalese groups, the Muridiyya and the Tijjaniya, are settled, although in a different manner, in the Western Cape. Far from Senegal where competition between the brotherhoods “is above all matter of political power,”²⁵⁶ it seems that Mourides and Tijjanis get on well in Cape Town, they collaborate at business places, they are members of the same Senegalese association and sometimes organize events together. From both sides they show respect for each other, although they are aware of their differences. From the Mouride side, Abdul Sarr perceives the differences between Tijjanis and Mourides in this way, “first we do not have the same shaykhs. The way the Mouride work for their shaykh is their duty. The Mourides obey the shaykh without questioning his authority. If the shaykh says yes, is yes, if the shaykh says no, is no. The Mourides and Tijjanis also recite different *wirds*.”²⁵⁷

All the Tijjanis I spoke agreed that the Mourides are the most numerous Senegalese group in Cape Town, and that they are hard working and good people, who are very well organized.²⁵⁸ Nevertheless, they consider that the Mourides in Cape Town differentiate from the Tijjanis in two things: they do not invite women to

their mosques and they do not socialise well with the locals, and they do not integrate into South Africa Society while the Tijjanis are closer to Capetonian population.

Fakhruddin Owasi, a non Senegalese Tijani who is the imam of the Hout Bay mosque, has had a long relationship with the Mourides. He was interested in the Muridiyya before he got involved to the Tijaniyya. For two or three years, he used to attend their meetings in Mowbray on Saturdays. The Senegalese culture in the *dahira* attracted him as well as their *dhikr*, and he interacted well with their members, although the spiritual aspects of the *tariqa*, its deeper knowledge of this did not appeal to him so much. However, he thinks the Senegalese Mouride community in Cape Town is far more organized than the Senegalese Tijaniyya, even though as far as South Africans are concerned the Mourides do not have many followers among Capetonian Muslims. This is in the case in Cape Town; in Johannesburg, he knows that there are more black African Muslims who follow the Muridiyya, particularly in Soweto. Fakhruddin thinks that the Tijaniyya is a universal movement that spread to Morocco, to Nigeria and to European countries, while the Muridiyya is more an indigenous cultural movement, which is much closed and their members are not concerned about spreading the *tariqa*. He illustrated that by saying: "I used to attend the *magal*, you know, they have a celebration for the *magal*, which is very big. If you go to the *magal* 99 percent of the people there are Senegalese, one or two South Africans, few... you can count with your finger, who follows the Muridiyya.... But if you go to the *mawlud* of the Tijanis. you will find fifty, fifty; fifty percent South Africans, fifty percent Senegalese."²⁵⁹

Ousmane Kane also observes that in USA the Mourides do not have a lot of disciples among the local population, although this is not only the case of the Mourides but also it is the case of the majority of African Muslim organizations which tend to include only people from their country of origin. Perhaps the example of the branch of Cheikh Hassan Cissé of the Tijaniyya, which has followers from different ethnic origins, is a remarkable exception.²⁶⁰

Furthermore, Fakhruddin does not agree with the relationship that the Mourides have with their shaykh, which he thinks is very submissive. "The Mouride is a family dynasty, the Mbacké. Ordinary Mourides who do not belong to the family can't be spiritual leaders."²⁶¹ Moreover, he considers that they do not have *ma'rifa* (gnosis).

3. - How Xenophobia is perceived by the Mourides

A problem that is often debated nowadays is that of xenophobia in South Africa and how people deal with it. The recent waves of anti-migrant violence, which started in Johannesburg, spread to Cape Town in May 2008. As a result of this, 20,000 displaced foreign nationals have had to be sheltered in 65 sites across the Western Cape.²⁶² These events have again brought to the fore a complex situation that affects the whole South African society, which is not new and it is not the purpose of this analysis. Migrant black African people, primarily Zimbabwean and Somalis, were the main victims of these attacks.

As for the Senegalese Mourides, in the first place they should be considered a part of these black African people who are affected by xenophobia in one way or another. According to Cheikh Kebe: "The main problem is as you know, in South Africa is first xenophobia, you know, (the South Africans say), 'is people coming from outside, stealing our jobs, they doing this...' "²⁶³

The opinion of Murtar serves to illustrate how he sees xenophobia and racists, "Most of the racists here, they say, that they are the whites, but the blacks who live here are more racist than the whites...That's it...we want to work, these are the things we want."²⁶⁴

In the second place, although it is quite certain that the Senegalese Mourides have had encountered some xenophobic incidents,²⁶⁵ they have not been as dramatic in comparison to other Africans, like the Somalis, another African Muslim group of traders. There might well be an explanation in the fact that the Mourides avoid places that can be a source of conflict for them. "Some people preferred to leave certain places in Cape Town or in Johannesburg to avoid the crime."²⁶⁶ They have neither lived, nor worked in the townships, in contrast to Somalis, who have made their home and their work in the townships.

Partly due to the current widespread poverty and gross disparity, refugees in South Africa have become a target of xenophobia, perhaps none more so than the Somalis, with their strong business skills and drive to succeed, as well as being easily distinguishable in appearance, language, and religion from the majority of South Africans. As a result, over Somalis were killed in the townships surrounding Cape Town in 2006-2007."²⁶⁷

Finally, in order to understand this Senegalese group better, it is worth bearing in mind that the Mourides do not like to look at these incidents, or to speak much about

them. Abdul Sarr even denied they had any xenophobic incidents: "The Mourides haven't had any problems for this. It is the *baraka* of the Cheikh which protects us, and also that we do not live in the townships, we live in different areas. I live in Mowbray."²⁶⁸ They prefer to turn away from the incidents and keep going, looking ahead.

In the words of Muhammad Shafick, the Mourides bring balance, and they can help to stabilize a society shattered by xenophobic incidents. The Senegalese Mourides deal with people from different backgrounds and races, they trade everywhere, they create opportunities to do so: "They have even gone to the West Coast, further than Springbok, and they have established their stalls in an area dominated by strong white Afrikaner Christian people, who are heavy drinkers ...and where we (Capetonian Muslims) are very afraid to go." The Mourides have established their stalls there without fear and they have no problems dealing with people, because their behaviour is straightforward, and they can mingle with all races. Finally, Shafick adds: "The Mourides do not preach, they behave. This is the reason that they are respected because their good behaviour."²⁶⁹

4. How Mourides perceive their influence in South African society

To start with, let us consider the opinion of Schmidt di Friedberg on the useful value of solidarity showed by the Mouride *tariqa* in alien surroundings. She argues that it is twofold: regarding the immigrant, who receives support, and "can move in a universe of meanings that are actually known and familiar" as we saw above in the help that newcomers receive in South Africa from the people of the *dahira*. Regarding the host society, "it is not confronted with individuals without a social control, but rather a cohesive group conscious of the difficulties of integration and ready to negotiate its position, avoiding conflict."²⁷⁰ However, even though there is much that is true in this position, which emphasizes an inward and protective attitude, there are perhaps other factors, which broaden the role of this migrant brotherhood in the host country. Particularly, the way the Mourides perceive their contribution to South African society deserves especial consideration. Not only do the Mourides see themselves in a more active position than migrants who want to be integrated, but they also are spreading the message of Cheikh Amadu Bamba through their behaviour, emphasizing factors like working hard and moral values, which set an example for South African people. Cheikh Kebe explains:

Today when we talk of the influence of the Mouride Senegalese in Cape Town, just look first to their business. All started in stalls being hawkers, but today with the hard work they have done as recommended by Cheikh Amadu Bamba, they got shops, they have big business that they are registered, and they are not making money, but they have, very decent earnings. And this impress a lot of population, when it comes to hard work, there you can see the moral principles of the Mouride community which has been influencing the local community. Secondly, as well, if they see the Mouride community as an example, the local community get together and see in which way, they cannot benefit, but how they share the vision. We got families here, we got wives, we got children, and at the same time, we are sharing the vision of the Mouride. So, we are influencing the local population when it comes to work, when it comes to moral values when it comes to family, when it comes to religion in a positive way.²⁷¹

For Abdul Sarr the first thing to do is to share the thing they have with South Africans: "When South Africans know we have celebrations in the *dahira* they come, and they are happy participating in the celebrations. Another thing we are teaching them is the importance of marriage."²⁷²

Developing the spiritual songs takes the most prominent place in bringing peace to South Africans according to Papa Abdu Thiam, "singing of *qasidas* brings more peace than anything. When you do it, the people do not feel their problems. People love to hear them."²⁷³

Several times in the conversations I had with Muhammad Shafick, he pointed out that the Mourides do not normally preach, but that their best preaching is their behaviour, and it is that behaviour that attracts people to them. Although there are not many South Africans who are part of this brotherhood in Cape Town, the case of Muhammad Shafick could serve to illustrate the nature of the influence of the *tariqa* in Cape Town.

Shafick, a Capetonian who became a Mouride, represents through his experience the way the Mourides have operated in Cape Town. He is a so-called "Malay" Muslim who searched for spiritual knowledge for several years. In his search, he attended different sessions of *dhikr*, from the Naqshabandiya, Qadiriya, Alawiyya, and Chistiyya brotherhoods looking for guidance. In 1997, Fakhruddin Owasi, a friend, introduced him to the Mourides, and he went to the Mowbray *dahira*, when the *dahira* was at Station road. It was a night of *dhikr* when he arrived, and a Cheikh from the Mbacké family had come from Senegal. From the beginning he felt welcomed by a group of people with a different colour of skin. He says: "To be in the

middle of the lovers of Allah with black people from another country was something unique. They were from outside the borders, and they behaved in a different way from how the black people are often portrayed among us. They captivated me. I was accepted from the beginning.”²⁷⁴ They did not try to indoctrinate him and to force any idea on him, but they showed him only hospitality. Although at this point he had not met the Cheikh in Touba, he soon became a member of the group, and got closer to some Mourides in Cape Town, who responded to his request for information. Muhammad Shafick adds that: “They behave with me in the same way as when an adult gives food to a child, only gives him what is necessary. When the child grows, his needs grow and he receives more food. It was like that with me.”²⁷⁵ In December 2003, he went to Touba for a month, where he met the Khaliph.

In 2002, his son went to Touba to the school of Imam Bousso, where he had been learning to recite the Qur’an. Along with that, he also learned the Wolof language, but mainly in an austere everyday life he absorbed the Mouride way of behaving and thinking. He explained his experience in Touba like this: “Every day was an adventure there, and because being a South African I had different habits. In Touba, I had to endure the cold at night, sleeping on the floor, different and scarce food, and endless learning and writing with little rest and no relaxing. I could overcome it and the learning was fruitful.”²⁷⁶ Now, after having completed the recitation of the whole Qur’an, he is back in Cape Town, but he is still much attached to Touba and dependent on the orders of his Khaliph.

It is worth bearing in mind that within the Mouride *tariqa* there are two ways to approach proselytism, represented by the two main dynamic and expansive actors within the Muridiyya: the diaspora makers or the traders, and the intellectuals. The traders, in general, are not very interested in proselytizing; rather, their main concern is establishing links of solidarity. Nevertheless, the intellectuals try to spread Amadu Bamba’s thoughts. Hizbut Tarqiyya is an example of this trend.²⁷⁷ This organization of students and intellectuals, which started as a Mouride student *dahira* at the Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar in 1979, has grown beyond the limits of the University.²⁷⁸ The group has evolved to become the main propagandist of Amadu Bamba’s ideas, as well as the main technical supporter of the Khaliph of the Muridiyya, particularly in organizing the *magal*. They set up cycles of conferences, exhibitions on the life of Amadu Bamba,²⁷⁹ and they have created a website and a radio station. Their influence is also felt in the *dahiras* based in foreign lands.

We can hear the echo of this influence in the words of Cheikh Kebe despite his emphasis on behaviour similar to Muhammad Shafick's:

The way to spread the message of the Mourides is to stick to the message of Cheikh Amadu Bamba, which is a summary of how true fervent good Muslim should behave. We are going to stick to doing it, because all his writings are here, and the foundation and the contribution and our records and the writing of the shaykh we are going to manage, first by getting to all communities here or Muslim explaining them, writing letters or calling them explaining them directly. We have other projects with renowned lecturers, when it comes to the teaching of Cheikh Amadou Bamba, from abroad in Senegal, to come here and to give some conferences here, inviting all the brothers in Islam to get their communities to know, at the same time we will establish an Islamic institution as well.²⁸⁰

Notwithstanding that this brotherhood in the Western Cape as a whole has not emphasised the spread of their *tariqa* until now, from the interviews with the Mouride members of the Foundation it can be deduced that there is an important transformation in their approach to the host country. They show a more open attitude to Cape Town society and a desire to extend the message of Amadu Bamba by organizing cycles of conferences and creating a website, as well as highlighting the importance of education with their children's school project.

Muhammad Shafick says that if Capetonians are exposed to Mouridism, it will flourish, because there are spiritual needs in the community. The blacks have not had a good exposure to Islam and he thinks that it is important to expose them to Islam in the way Imam Haroon did. In this sense, Muhammad Shafick connects the local Muslim tradition with Mouridism.

VII. Conclusions

This short work has focused on the arrival and spread of the Senegalese Mouride *tariqa*/order in Cape Town from 1994 to 2008, and is therefore an exercise in contemporary history. The findings in this essay are preliminary and capture a movement still very much in the process of establishing itself in a new environment. But hopefully there are materials here that may open the way to further research in this field of Sufism “in practice” and of Sufism as an inherent part of certain African diasporas.

To understand the nature and scope of the social presence of the Mouride diaspora in South Africa and Cape Town today, it is essential to be aware that they are the descendants of a Senegalese religious order established by Cheikh Amadu Bamba in the nineteenth century. In that sense, most of the spiritual and socio-political features of the early Muridiyya are maintained by the present ones. Two of these spiritual features are significant for the present study. First, their spiritual and ethical values are based on the Qur'an and on Sunni doctrine. Second, that Cheikh Amadu Bamba, like other Sufi shaykhs throughout the history of Islam, embodies the character and behaviour of the Prophet Muhammad in his time and place.

In other words, the Mouride diaspora today strives to follow the model of the founder of their *tariqa*. They have therefore a complete trust and dependence on the Divine; they fasten together the spiritual and economic in their worldly existence; they regard their diaspora to foreign lands not only as a way to gain an income but also as a path of knowledge and inner development. Wherever they are, they remain within the organism of the *tariqa*, the institutional hierarchy of the *dahira* and the city of Touba. At the same time modern conditions of life and new geographies far from Touba have brought about new ways of experiencing the traditional *tariqa* model.

Perhaps the most important of these changes is the organization of the *dahiras* of Cape Town and in South Africa at large. Instead of been controlled by the head of the *dahira* are progressively more and more controlled by a collective body operating through financial institutions. In this sense we can observe an increasing internal debate among the members of the *dahiras* regarding the destination of collected funds. Starting from 2004 these changes have been introduced particularly with the

arrival of young generations of Mourides and along democratic lines under the laws of the new South African democracy as we indicate later.

Furthermore the arrival of the new generations of Mourides will perhaps bringing about an opening of the *dahira* to local members; something that has not been promoted by the Mourides since their establishment in Cape Town, as they have been primordially involved in close trading and religious activities.

Travelling abroad and establishing new *dahiras* among foreign people is a dimension of the Sufi brotherhood of the Muridiyya that, following a global trend, has become progressively more important throughout the twentieth and the twenty first centuries; not only moving to different parts of Africa, but also to Europe and to the USA. However, Africa has remained the main destination for the Senegalese migrants.

The Muridiyya migration to South Africa starts with the ending of apartheid and makes use of the opportunities that the new democracy offers to African people. The Mourides who arrive in South Africa and in particular in Cape Town are few in number compared to other Africans, and West Africans in particular. They are small merchants and their only assets are their Sufi *tariqa* and their ability to trade. Building on these, they manage in a few years to establish *dahiras* in the main urban areas of the country, Johannesburg, Durban, and the Western Cape.

Owing to their connection with Senegal and with the city of Touba and with the Khaliph of the Muridiyya order, they articulate a double presence, one in South Africa and the other in Senegal. On the one hand, a permanent caravan of members of the order links them on a daily basis with their family and their spiritual brothers of Senegal. On the other hand, the different contacts they launch in the host country imply changes and transformations within the brotherhood.

Cape Town is significant for the Mourides, not only because of the business opportunities it offers as a tourist destination which attracts many visitors most of the year, but also because the city harbours the most important Muslim community of South Africa. Their relations with this numerous and locally-rooted community of Muslims should have facilitated their initial establishment, but actually proved to be an arduous challenge, since it was difficult for the Muslims of Cape Town to understand that a black Muslim coming from Senegal could be a good Muslim with a deep knowledge of the Qur'an and of Islam; a situation that slowly has evolved

positively for the Mourides, as they have more and more been able to communicate with and gain the respect of the local community.

After several changes of residence from 1994, the Muridiyya order has managed to secure a formal *dahira* in the area of Mowbray in Cape Town, where all the normal activities of the *tariqa* can take place. There is also a collection of funds among the *talibés*, which are sent to Touba for the construction of a new mosque, which the Khaliph has designated specifically to the Mourides of South Africa.

This organic nexus, preserved throughout the centuries and in different geographic regions gives to the Mourides not only an individual path for growth in knowledge and spiritual and economical development, but a connection with a powerful network woven among Touba, Dakar, Marseille, New York, Rome, and Johannesburg, and other places. This unfolding of the *dahira* also created challenging dynamics of change and transformation.

The period between 2004 and 2007 was for the Mourides of Cape Town a time in which their interaction with the South African society and new inner developments within the brotherhood challenged their fraternal unity, convictions and traditional behaviour patterns. A visit in 2004 of Cheikh Mohammad Mbacké Falilou to South Africa started a movement of reflection within the *tariqa*, which culminated with the split of the *dahira* of Mowbray and the creation of a new *dahira*, settled in Brooklyn in March of 2008, which took the name of Cheikh Ahmed Bamba Foundation.

This new organization, created under the patronage of the Mayor of Port Elizabeth, became a controversial issue because it implied a deviation from the traditional way of the Muridiyya in Cape Town in three essential points. One, the Foundation being a South African legal institution meant the *dahira* would be subject to laws and regulations different from the traditional rules of the order. Two, the creation of the Foundation was linked to the banks and transfers of funds, and a loan to buy a house, both in opposition to the traditional customs of the Mowbray *dahira*. Three, the way of distributing the collected money is an important matter in their disagreement. According to the supporters of the new Foundation, the money collected among the *talibés* had to be in a bank account and had to be directed not only to the building of the mosque in the city of Touba, but also to support of the people in Cape Town. As a result of this challenge brought about by their

interrelation with the South African local authorities, and by a new social outlook of some of the members of the order, the Mourides of Cape Town, as we indicated, are confronting a serious fracture in their unity, which is not a new historical phenomenon. In this sense, as we have seen, the Khaliph of the *tariqa* has responded to this test with exhortations and practical measures to restore the unity of his followers, and with a clear support of the Foundation.

The unfolding of the Mouride Diaspora in Cape Town as they face the challenges of a modern technological society, and the generation differences, entails therefore new strategies and tests for the centuries old capacity of the brotherhood to adapt itself to new and different circumstances. It also confronts them with the necessity to open their doors to new people and to expand the *tariqa*. In this task, which they have been embracing progressively since their establishment in Cape Town, the Mouride face two tests. One comes from their difficult relationship with local Muslim community, which they see as a heritage of the apartheid regime, and whose solution they consider a matter of time and work from both sides in order to bring down the racial barriers and the ignorance of the other. The second test is their exposure to South Africa at large, and the unavoidable element of xenophobia. Here, the Mourides see themselves in a different position to other African migrants, a situation in fact of advantage since as disciples of Cheikh Amadu Bamba they are not simply workers looking for mean of subsistence, but transmitters of an illuminated way of existence. They are confident that by means of correct behaviour, personally and in their families and business, and as well as opening more and more the celebrations of the *dahira* to the people, they will be able to introduce elements of change and improvement in the society of Cape Town, and particularly among the poor and less educated.

All considered, it is perhaps necessary to state the possibility that the Mourides of Cape Town are not only a case of how a traditional African Sufi brotherhood survives and functions in the context of the global migrations of modern times, but perhaps even more is an interesting example for South Africans of an African *tariqa* whose founder was a black African Sufi and can be seen as an alternative way to respond to the difficult circumstances of contemporary society.

Notes

¹ Knut S. Vikor, "Sufi Brotherhoods in Africa", in *The History of Islam in Africa*, Nehemia Levtzion and Randall L. Powels, eds. (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2000) 441.

² Abdalhaqq and Aisha Bewley, *The Noble Qur'an. A New Rendering of its meaning in English* (Norwich: Bookwork Norwich, 1999), 47.

³ Vincent Monteil, *L'Islam Noir* (Paris: Seuil, 1980), 154.

⁴ Vikor, "Sufi brotherhoods," 460.

⁵ Ousmane Kane, "Intellectuals non europhones", Document de travail, CODESRIA. (2003) . (Online). Available:

www.codesria.org/links/publications/monographs/ousmane-kane.pdf

⁶ Vikor, 446.

⁷ Monteil, 159-160

⁸ Cheikh Anta Babou, *Fighting the greater jihad* (Ohio: Ohio University Press Athens, 2007), 3-4.

⁹ Cheikh and Shaykh are different transliterations of the same Arabic word meaning spiritual guide. In this paper I use Cheikh for proper names since it's the way written in Senegal; I used the English transliteration in all other cases.

¹⁰ James Searing, *God Alone is King* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2001); Richard Robert's review of *God Alone is King*, in *International Journal of African Historical Studies* (henceforth IJAH) 35, no.1 (2002): 222-24, and David Robinson's review article about the same book, "Islam, Cash Crops, and Emancipation," JAH 44 (2003): 139-44.

¹¹ John Glover, *Sufism and Jihad in Modern Senegal*, (Rochester: the University of Rochester Press, 2007), and Cheikh Anta Babou, *Fighting the greater Jihad*, (Ohio: OhioUniversity Press, 2007)

¹² Paul Thompson. "The Voice of the Past," in *The Oral History reader*, Robert Perks and Alistair Thompson, eds. (London: Routledge, 2006), 26.

¹³ Thompson, 26.

¹⁴ Robert Perks and Alistair Thompson, eds. *Oral History reader* (London: Routledge, 2006), 3.

¹⁵ Perks and Thompson, 3.

¹⁶ Alessandro Portelli. "What makes Oral History different," in *Oral History reader*, Robert Perks and Alistair Thompson, Eds. (London: Routledge, 2006), 6.

¹⁷ Remembrance, meaning invocation of Allah by repetition of his names.

¹⁸ Sheldon Gellar, *An African Nation between Islam and the West*. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1982), 1.

¹⁹ David Robinson, *Muslim Societies in African History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 184.

²⁰ Ieuan Ll. Griffiths, *The Atlas of African Affairs* (London: Routledge, 1994), 40.

²¹ Monteil, 87.

²² Tokolor, name used by the French and the Wolof for the Futanke of the middle valley of Senegal. They spoke the same language as the Fulbe.

²³ Gellar, 2.

²⁴ Robinson, *Muslim societies*, 184.

²⁵ Gellar, 2.

²⁶ Cheikh Uthman Dan Fodio founded the Sokoto caliphate in 1804. It brought the Hausa states and some neighbouring territories under a single, central, Muslim administration for the first time in the history. The caliphate was destroyed by the colonial powers at the beginning of the 20th century. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2008 Ultimate reference suite. (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2008) s.v. Usman dan Fodio.

²⁷ James Searing, *"God alone is King": Islam and emancipation in Senegal: the Wolof kingdoms of Kajoor and Bawol, 1859-1914* (Oxford: James Currey, 2002), 24.

²⁸ Gellar, 5.

²⁹ Searing, 9.

³⁰ Gellar, 8.

³¹ Erick Makedonsky, *Le Senegal, la Senegambie* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1987), 126.

³² David Robinson, *Path of Accommodation* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2000), 22.

³³ The term *ceddo* was used by Muslims and by "traditionalists" to describe political partisans of the old regime, particularly members of the old court and their military slaves. The *ceddo* party was not a "pagan" party, but the party of the aristocracy. The word *ceddo* has the connotation of "nonbeliever" or "pagan", but it does not indicate a set of religious beliefs. "The *ceddo* were nominally Muslims and many of them followed the precepts of Islam in their old age, after their retirement from politics. The *ceddo* exempted themselves from the laws of Islam, based on their identity as warriors and servants of the king. They drank, fought the king's battle, and ate meat collected as tribute from peasant communities. Musicians and courtesans entertained them. Conspicuous consumption was crucial to the *ceddo* ideal and was opposed to the austerity of Islam," Searing, 7.

³⁴ Gellar, 7.

³⁵ Robinson, *Path of Accommodation*, 23-24.

³⁶ David Robinson, "Beyond Resistance and Collaboration Amadu Bamba and the Murids of Senegal," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 21, Fasc.2 (May, 1991), 154.

³⁷ Robinson, *Muslim Societies*, 184.

³⁸ Searing, 50.

³⁹ Dammel, (Wolof) title of king.

⁴⁰ Searing, 60.

⁴¹ Searing, 60.

⁴² Gellar, 9.

⁴³ Gellar, 10.

⁴⁴ Robinson, *Muslim Societies*, 187.

⁴⁵ Robinson, *Beyond Resistance and Collaboration*, 154.

⁴⁶ Jean Louis Michon, *The Autobiography (Fahrasa) of a Moroccan Soufi Ahmed Ibn 'Ajiba (1747-1809)* (Louisville: Fons Vitae, 1999), 151.

⁴⁷ This term covers the field of Islamic law.

⁴⁸ Particular recitation of *dhikr* and distinctive prayers of each tariqa.

⁴⁹ Mawlay al-Arabi ad-Darkawi, *The Darkawi way* (London: Diwan Press, 1981) 37.

Mawlay al-Arabi ad-Darkawi (d.1823) was a Shadhili Moroccan Shaykh who developed the Darkawi branch.

⁵⁰ Shaykh Ahmed Ibn Ajiba, *The Basic Research* (Cape Town: Medina Press, 1998), 77.

⁵¹ Khadim.Mbacké, *Sufism and Religious Brotherhoods in Senegal* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publisher, 2005), 17-18.

⁵² Robinson, *Path of Accommodation*, 92.

⁵³ Robinson, *Path of Accommodation*, 90.

⁵⁴ Mbacké, 23.

⁵⁵ Nehemia Levtzion, and Randall L. Powel, *The History of Islam in Africa* (Ohio: Ohio University Press), 9.

⁵⁶ Mbacké, 24-25.

⁵⁷ Viktor, 464.

⁵⁸ Mbacké, 26.

⁵⁹ Viktor, 450-451.

⁶⁰ Mbacké, 27.

⁶¹ Mbacké, 25-35.

⁶² Mbacké, 36.

⁶³ Searing, 133.

⁶⁴ Said Bousbina, "Al-Hajj Malik Sy," in *Le Temps des Marabouts. Itinéraires et stratégies islamiques en Afrique occidentale française vers 1880-1960*, D. Robinson and J.L. Triaud, eds. (Paris: Khartala, 1997), 192.

⁶⁵ Bousbina, 197.

⁶⁶ Silvianne García, "Al-Hajj Seydou Nourou Tall 'grand marabout' tijani: L'histoire d'une carrière (v. 1880-1980)," in *Le Temps des Marabouts. Itinéraires et stratégies islamiques en Afrique occidentale française vers 1880-1960*, D. Robinson and J. L. Triaud, eds. (Paris: Khartala, 1997), 247..

⁶⁷ García, 274.

⁶⁸ AOF, Afrique Occidentale Française, was a federation that gathered eight French colonies in Western Africa, between 1895 and 1958, to unite the penetration of French colonialism in Africa.

⁶⁹ Viktor, 453.

⁷⁰ Garcia, 253-274.

⁷¹ Viktor, 454

⁷² Ousmane Kane, "Shaikh Al-Islam Al-Hajj Ibrahim Niasse," in *Le Temps des Marabouts*. D.Robinson and J.L. Triaud, eds. (Paris: Karthala, 1997), 303.

⁷³ Kane, "Shaikh al-Islam Al-Hajj Ibrahim Niasse," 309.

⁷⁴ Robinson, *Path of Accommodation*, 210.

⁷⁵ Mbacké, 45.

⁷⁶ Robinson, *Beyond Resistance and Collaboration*, 156.

⁷⁷ The Madiyanke, sons of a self-proclaimed Mahdi from Toro, was a Tijani movement, which mobilized a large following in 1867-1868, and produced the first public fissures within the Tijannia order in the region. (Robinson, *Path of Accommodation*, 23).

⁷⁸ Robinson, *Beyond Resistance and Collaboration*, 156.

⁷⁹ Robinson, *Path of Accommodation*, 211.

⁸⁰ Robinson, *Beyond Resistance and Collaboration*, 156-157.

⁸¹ Mbacké, 54.

⁸² Searing, 101.

⁸³ Donal B. Cruise O'Brien, *Saints and Politicians: essays in the organization of a Senegalese peasant society* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 23.

⁸⁴ Eric Makedonsky, *Le Senegal et la Senegambi*. (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1987), 126.

⁸⁵ *nafs*: the self. Usually in reference to the lower self

⁸⁶ Searing, 45.

⁸⁷ Babou, *Fighting the greater Jihad*, 112.

⁸⁸ Robinson, *Beyond Resistance and Collaboration*, 158.

⁸⁹ Qutb. "The pole is the axis of spiritual hierarchy." (Aisha Bewley *Glossary of Islamic Terms* (London: Ta-Ha publishers, 1998), 220.

⁹⁰ Ousseynou Cissé, *Mame Thierno Birahim* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001), 33.

⁹¹ Donal B. Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal: the political and economic Organization of an Islamic Brotherhood* (Oxford: Clarendon University Press, 1971), 42.

⁹² Ibra Fall in particular is one of the most controversial figures among the *talibés* of Amadu Bamba. He became a propagandist of the complete and excessive submission to the shaykh and of hard manual work, "these two characteristics were passed on to his own followers, known in subsequent years as the Baye Fall, and they are often erroneously equated with the practices of all members of the Muridiyya" (Robinson, *Beyond Resistance and Collaboration*, 159).

Ibra Fall was instrumental in organising the agricultural *dahiras* for peanut farming and building Touba, however, it looks like he did not follow faithfully the five pillars of Islam, although it seems that negligence of religious obligations took hold among the Baye Fall in the last few years of their founder's life, in the late 1920s.

⁹³ Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal*, 56-63.

⁹⁴ Searing, 62.

⁹⁵ Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation*, 213.

⁹⁶ Robinson, *Muslim Societies*, 189.

⁹⁷ Cissé, 50.

⁹⁸ Makédonsky, 126.

⁹⁹ Makedonsky, 126.

¹⁰⁰ Robinson, *Beyond resistance and Collaboration*, 16.

¹⁰¹ Babou, *Fighting the greater Jihad*, 36.

¹⁰² Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal*, 44.

¹⁰³ Searing, 126.

¹⁰⁴ Mbacke, "Les bienfaits de l'éternel," 107, quoted by Searing, 13.

¹⁰⁵ Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal*, 44.

¹⁰⁶ Makedonsky, 26.

¹⁰⁷ Searing, 92.

¹⁰⁸ Muridiyya: "who are stripped of their will and hand themselves over to their Shaykh", Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic terms*, 218.

¹⁰⁹ Robinson, *Beyond Resistance and Collaboration*, 162-163.

¹¹⁰ Robinson, *Muslim societies*, 190-191; Babou, *Fighting the greater Jihad*, 155.

¹¹¹ Donal B. Cruise O'Brien. "Sufi Politics in Senegal," in *Islam in the political Process* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 124.

¹¹² Mamadou Diouf, "Le clientelisme, la 'technocratie', et après?" in *Senegal, Trajectories d'un État*, Momar-Coumba Diop, Ed. (Dakar: Codesria, 1992), 56.

- ¹¹³ Leonardo Villalón, "Charisma and ethnicity in a Political Context: A Case Study in the Establishment of a Senegalese Religious Clientele," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 3, 1 (1993): 84.
- ¹¹⁴ Michael Crowder *Senegal: A study of French assimilation policy* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1967), 115.
- ¹¹⁵ Robert Fatton, "Clientelism and Patronage in Senegal," *African studies*, 29, 4 (December 1986): 66.
- ¹¹⁶ Villalón, *Charisma and Ethnicity in Political Context*, 92.
- ¹¹⁷ Fatton, 65.
- ¹¹⁸ Richard Dowden, *Africa* (London: Portobello Books Ltd., 2008), 255.
- ¹¹⁹ Hussein Solomon, "Turning back the tide: Illegal immigration into South Africa," *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 16 4 (Fall 2005): 1.
- ¹²⁰ Residing within displacement.
- ¹²¹ Sebastiano Ceschi, "Migrations, Liens Transnationaux et Cooperation entre Territoires. Une recherche sur la diaspora Senegalaise en Italie," in *Relations Transnationales et co-developpement. Associations et entrepreneurs Senegalais entre L'Italie et lieux d'origine*, eds. Sebastiano Ceschi and Andrea Stochiero (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2007), 13-14.
- ¹²² Leyla Sall, Les territoires commerciaux sénégalais à Paris. L'exemple des espaces de vente touristiques, Tour Eiffel et Chateaux de Versailles (2003). [Online]. Available: <http://barthes.ens.fr/clio/revues/AHI/articles/preprints/ent/sall.html>
- ¹²³ Adriana Piga, *Dakar et les ordres soufis* (Paris: l'Harmattan, 2002), 222; Victoria Ebin, "International networks of a trading diaspora: the Mourides of Senegal abroad", in *La ville a guichets fermés? Itinéraires, réseaux et insertion urbaines*. Coordinated by Philippe Antoine and Abdulahi Bare Diop (Dakar: IFAN/ORSTOM, 1995) 325.
- ¹²⁴ Cheikh Mbacké, a grandson of Amadu Bamba and heir to the first kaliph of the Muridiyya, Mustafa Mbakke, founded the first *dahira* in the 1940s... The *dahira* was first conceived as a sort of prayer circle where the disciples from the same town or neighbourhood would meet on a weekly basis to read the Koran, chant Amadu Bamba's religious poems and socialize. Adherents to the *dahira* were require to pay weekly, monthly or annual subscriptions used in part for mutual assistance and in part to contribute to the expenses of the brotherhood as a whole... The *dahira* developed first, and remains to a large extent, an urban institution " (Cheikh Anta Babou,, "Brotherhood solidarity, education and migration: The role of *Dahiras* among the Murid Muslims community in New York." *African Affairs*. 101 (2002), 154-5)
- ¹²⁵ Ebin, International networks of a trading diaspora, 329.
- ¹²⁶ Piga, 222.
- ¹²⁷ Mourtala Moup, *Les sénégalais d'Italie* (Paris: l'Harmattan, 2000), 3.
- ¹²⁸ Sall, 1.
- ¹²⁹ Sophie Bava, "Reconversions et Nouveaux Mondes Commerciaux des Mourides à Marseille", *Hommes & Migrations*, 1224, (2000), 51; Ebin, "International. networks of a trading diaspora," 333; Rafael Crespo, "Empresariado étnico," CIDOB [2007], 9 [Online]. Available: www.cidob.org
- ¹³⁰ Fall, 14.
- ¹³¹ Mboup, 15-16; Ceschi, 16.
- ¹³² The Italian Parliament passed the Marteli Law on 1990, which regularized the situation of foreigners who could prove they were in Italian territory between the 31

of December 1989 and the 30 of June 1990, although it did not stop the flow of clandestine migrants.

¹³³ Mboup, 33.

¹³⁴ Mboup, 16.

¹³⁵ Ebin, International networks of a trading diaspora, 333.

¹³⁶ Babou, Brotherhood solidarity, education and migration, 160.

¹³⁷ Babou, Brotherhood solidarity, education and migration, 164.

¹³⁸ Babou, Brotherhood solidarity, education and migration, 168.

¹³⁹ Babou, Brotherhood solidarity, education and migration, 160.

¹⁴⁰ Papa Demba Fall, Migration internationale et droit de travailleurs au Senegal, Unesco, Ed. (2003). 15 [Online]. Available: <http://portal.unesco.org/shs/es/ev.php>.

¹⁴¹ Solomon, Turning back the tide, 91; Loren B. Landau, Kaajal Ramjathan_Keops and Gayari Singh, "Xenophobia in South Africa and problems related to it," Forced Migration Working Paper Series # 13 Forced Migration Studies Programme University of the Witwaterstrand (Nov. 2004), 4.

¹⁴² William Shaw, Migration in Africa: A review of the economic literature on International migration in 10 Countries,, Development Prospect Group, The World Bank Washington DC (2007) 12 [Online]. Available: <http://go.worldbank.org/V6YAOOL7A0>

¹⁴³ Hussein Solomon, Impact of illegal immigration in the Republic of South Africa,(2000)[Online]Available: www.queensu.ca/samp/sampresources/migrationdocuments/documents/2000/solomon.htm-86k

¹⁴⁴ Shaw, 12.

¹⁴⁵ Solomon, Turning back the tide, 91.

¹⁴⁶ Alan Morris and Antoine Bouillon, eds. *African Immigration to South Africa: francophone migrants of the 1990s* (Pretoria: IFAS, 2001), 43.

¹⁴⁷ Morris and Bouillon, *African Immigration to South Africa*, 52.

¹⁴⁸ There are no reliable figures on the foreign migrant population in South Africa. Antoine Bouillon, ed. *Immigration Africaine en Afrique du Sud* (Paris: Khartala, 1999), 17.

¹⁴⁹ Stats SA: PO351 "Tourism and Migration", "Tourism" report no 01-51-02 (2000, 2006, 2007)

¹⁵⁰ Coloured is a contested term that includes people from diverse racial and cultural backgrounds, involving slaves from South Easia, Khoisan, Mozambique, Arab and Europeans.

¹⁵¹ Goolam Vahed and Shamil Jeppie, "Multiples communities: Muslims in post-apartheid South Africa," in *State of Nation: South Africa 2004-2005*, John Daniel, Roger Southall and Jessica Lutchman, eds. (Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council, 2005), 252.

¹⁵² Christopher Haferburg. "How many Muslims are in South Africa." *Annual Review of Islam in South Africa*. 3 (2000), 1 [Online]. Available: http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/religion/Institutes/arisa_downloads.php#arisa_2000.

¹⁵³ Abdulkader Tayob, "Counting Muslims in South Africa," *Annual Review of Islam in South Africa* 1, 1 (1998) [Online]. Available: http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/religion/institutes/journal_arisa.php#arisa_1988.

¹⁵⁴ Sindre Bangstad, "Black African Conversion to Islam in Cape Town," *Annual Review of Islam in South Africa*, 9, (2006-2007), 14.

¹⁵⁵ Vahed and Jeppie, 253.

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- ¹⁵⁶ Bangstad, 14.
- ¹⁵⁷ Fakude Ebrahim, "Muslims in the Township of South Africa," *Annual Review of Islam in South Africa*, 5 (2002), 5 [Online]. Available: http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/religion/Institutes/arisa_downloads.php#arisa_2002.
- ¹⁵⁸ Masakhane Muslim Community. "Islam in the African Townships of the Cape." Edited version of an article first appeared in *Al-Muwahhidoon*, 2, 1 (March 2000) 1.
- ¹⁵⁹ Masakhane, 2.
- ¹⁶⁰ Fakude, 6.
- ¹⁶¹ Vahed and Jeppie, 265-266
- ¹⁶² The Dakar Declaration, (Online) Available: <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pr/1980s/pr870612.html>
- ¹⁶³ Ibrahim Sarr, interview by author, Cape Town South Africa, 17 May 2008.
- ¹⁶⁴ Abdul Sarr, interview by author, Cape Town, South Africa, 19 July 2008.
- ¹⁶⁵ Crespo, 5-7.
- ¹⁶⁶ Shahid Vawda, "Transnational Migration and Muslim Identities: Malawians and Senegalese Muslims in Durban, South Africa," paper presented as part of the seminar Religious Lives of Migrants: Local and transnational perspectives. SSRC and Wiser, University of the Witwatersrand Johannesburg (5-6 May 2008), 59-60.
- ¹⁶⁷ Abdul Sarr, interview.
- ¹⁶⁸ Antoine Bouillon, "New" African immigration to South Africa (Cape Town: CASAS, 1998), 11.
- ¹⁶⁹ Murtar Sembaye, interview by author, Cape Town, South Africa, 30 March 2008.
- ¹⁷⁰ Modou Tall, interview by author, Cape Town, South Africa, 2007.
- ¹⁷¹ Bruno Riccio, "From 'ethnic group' to 'transnational community'? Senegalese migrants ambivalent experiences and multiples trajectories," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 27, 4 (October 2001), 590-1.
- ¹⁷² Murtar Sembaye, interview.
- ¹⁷³ Bruno Riccio, From 'ethnic group' to 'transnational community'?, 588.
- ¹⁷⁴ Cheikh Kebe interview by author, Cape Town, South Africa, 6 June 2008.
- ¹⁷⁵ Serigné Diop, interview by author, Cape Town, South Africa, 30 March 2007.
- ¹⁷⁶ Khadim Niang, interview by author, Cape Town, South Africa, 8 March 2008.
- ¹⁷⁷ Abdul Sarr, interview.
- ¹⁷⁸ Victoria Ebin, International networks of a trading diaspora, 100.
- ¹⁷⁹ Papa Abdou Thian, interview by author, Cape Town, South Africa, 31 March 2008.
- ¹⁸⁰ Abdul Sarr, interview.
- ¹⁸¹ Khadim Niang, interview.
- ¹⁸² Susana Molins Lliteras, "A path to integration: Senegalese Tijanis in Cape Town," paper presented as part of the seminar Religious Lives of Migrants: Local and Transnational Perspective, SSRC and WISER, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (5-6 May 2008), 15. This paper develops some of the lines of research of Susan Molins' insightful Master thesis, "The Tijaniyya Tariqa in Cape Town: The "Normalization" of Race Relations in South Africa" (Master's dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2005).

. (Department of African Studies, 2005)

¹⁸³ There is not god , but God.

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- ¹⁸⁴ Khadim Niang, interview.
- ¹⁸⁵ Modou Tall, interview.
- ¹⁸⁶ Vawda, *Migration, Livelihoods and Muslim Identities*, 64.
- ¹⁸⁷ Victoria Ebin, "Making Room versus Creating Space: The Construction of Spatial Categories by Itinerant Mourides Traders" in *Making Muslim Space*, Barbara Daly Metcalf, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 95.
- ¹⁸⁸ Modou Tall, interview.
- ¹⁸⁹ Muhammad Shafick, interview by the author, Cape Town 26 August/ 6 July 2008.
- ¹⁹⁰ Christian Coulon, "The grand *magal* in Touba: A religious festival of the Mouride brotherhood of Senegal," *African Affairs* 391 (1999): 199.
- ¹⁹¹ Richard Dowden, 257.
- ¹⁹² Cheikh Gueye, "Touba entre autonomie et ouverture: les droits familiaux (laïque, islamique et coutumier) dans une ville religieuse", paper presented as part of the third symposium of the Islamic Law in Africa Project, Cape Town, South Africa (11-14 March 2002), 2-10.
- ¹⁹³ Modou, interview.
- ¹⁹⁴ *Mawlud*: the celebration of the birth of the Prophet, sws.
- ¹⁹⁵ Papa Abdu Thiam, interview.
- ¹⁹⁶ *magal* in the Wolof language means a celebration or an anniversary. As used by the Mourides, it denotes a religious gathering in honour of a spiritual leader (Coulon, 196).
- ¹⁹⁷ "...comme le temoignage le plus authentique de son triomphe sur les colonisateurs," (Piga, 238).
- ¹⁹⁸ Khadim Niang, interview.
- ¹⁹⁹ Ajami letter written by Serigné Saliou Mbacké in Wolof and in Arabic script. See appendixes, 1.
- ²⁰⁰ Abdul Sarr interview.
- ²⁰¹ Khadim Niang, interview.
- ²⁰² Murtar Sembaye, interview.
- ²⁰³ It has increased the transparency of economic transactions: there is a group of people who receive immediate notification on their cell phones of any movement in the account.
- ²⁰⁴ Abdul Sarr, interview.
- ²⁰⁵ Khadim Niang, interview.
- ²⁰⁶ Mourtala Mboup, *Les sénégalais d'Italie* (Paris: l'Harmattan, 2000), 135.
- ²⁰⁷ Invitation to the inauguration of this new centre. See appendixes, 2.
- ²⁰⁸ While the President of the *dahira* of Mowbray has been the same throughout these years, by South African laws the directors of the foundation have to be elected every year.
- ²⁰⁹ Cheikh Kebe, interview.
- ²¹⁰ Cheikh Kebe, interview.
- ²¹² Khadim Niang, interview.
- ²¹³ Murtar Sembaye, interview.
- ²¹⁴ Khadim Niang, interview.
- ²¹⁵ Mourtala Mboup, 135-136.
- ²¹⁶ Letter from the *Khaliph* Serigné Mouhammad Bara Lamine Mbacké to the members of South African *dahiras*, 01/06/2008. See appendixes, 3.

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- ²¹⁷ Khadim Niang, interview.
- ²¹⁸ General Assembly's record of Cheikh Amadu Bamba Foundation, 24/09/2008. See appendixes, 4.
- ²¹⁹ "The extraordinary capacity of the Mourides to adapt themselves to changes is still working ... Furthermore it seems that they have never been so inclined to establish permanent activities." (Mboup, *Les Senegalais d'Italie*).
- ²²⁰ Papa Abdu Thiam, interview.
- ²²¹ Ousmane Kane, interview by author, Cape Town, July 2008.
- ²²² Ibrahim Sarr, interview.
- ²²³ Abdulahi Thiam, interview by author, Cape Town, South Africa, 29 December 2007.
- ²²⁴ Abdulahi Thiam, interview.
- ²²⁵ Abdulahi Thiam, interview.
- ²²⁶ Imam Fakhruddin Owaisi, interview by author, Hout Bay, South Africa, 25 April 2008; Abdulahi Thiam, Ibrahim Sarr interviews.
- ²²⁷ Khadim Niang, interview.
- ²²⁸ Abdulahi Thiam, interview.
- ²²⁹ Ibrahim Sarr, interview.
- ²³⁰ Modou Tall, interview.
- ²³¹ Bruno Riccio, "Senegalese Transnational: an ambivalent experience", Two models of Transnationalism., 39 [Online], Available: www.sussex.ac.uk/development/documents/booklet.pdf.
- ²³² Riccio, Senegalese Transnational: an ambivalent experience, 40.
- ²³³ Cheikh Kebe, interview.
- ²³⁴ Murtar Sembaye, interview.
- ²³⁵ Murtar Sembaye, interview.
- ²³⁶ Khadim Niang, interview.
- ²³⁷ Muhammad Shafick, interview.
- ²³⁸ In a conversation with Shahid Vawda, 6 May of 2008, Johannesburg, South Africa.
- ²³⁹ Morris and Bouillon ed., 29.
- ²⁴⁰ Khadim Niang, interview.
- ²⁴¹ Abdulahi Thiam, interview.
- ²⁴² Vawda, 66.
- ²⁴³ Murtar Sembaye, interview.
- ²⁴⁴ Abdul Sarr, interview.
- ²⁴⁵ Modou, interview.
- ²⁴⁶ Cheikh Kebe, interview.
- ²⁴⁷ Khadim Niang, interview.
- ²⁴⁸ Muhammad Shafick, interview.
- ²⁴⁹ Khadim Niang interview.
- ²⁵⁰ The majority of Tijanis in Cape Town belong to the branch of Cheikh Ibrahim Niasse, established in Kaolack (Senegal).
- ²⁵¹ Molins, 16-17.
- ²⁵² Cheikh Tijani interview by the author, Cape Town, South Africa, 27 March 2008.
- ²⁵³ Molins, 20.
- ²⁵⁴ Molins, 18.
- ²⁵⁵ Molins, 24.

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- ²⁵⁶ Donal B. Cruise O'Brien, "Sufi Politics in Senegal," in *Islam in the political process*, James P. Piscatori Ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 133.
- ²⁵⁷ Abdul Sarr, interview.
- ²⁵⁸ Abdulahi Thiam, Cheikh Tijani Gueye, Ibrahim Sarr and Imam Fakhruddin Owaisi, interviews.
- ²⁵⁹ Fakhruddin Owaisi interview.
- ²⁶⁰ Ousmane Kane, interview by author, Cape Town South Africa, July 2008.
- ²⁶¹ Fakhruddin interview.
- ²⁶² Margot Saffer and Carly Tanur, "Western Cape Responds to xenophobic attacks." [www. Sangonet.org.za](http://www.Sangonet.org.za)
- ²⁶³ Cheikh Kebe, interview.
- ²⁶⁴ Murtar Sembaye, interview.
- ²⁶⁵ Muhammad Shafick, interview.
- ²⁶⁶ Murtar Sembaye, interview.
- ²⁶⁷ Merry Buyer, "Reflections on Farah's *Yesterday, Tomorrow*. Somali refugees experience of South Africa" paper presented as part of the seminar Literature and Politics in the Horn of Africa, UCT Cape Town South Africa (April 2008), 4.
- ²⁶⁸ Abdul Sarr, interview.
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- ²⁷¹ Cheikh Kebe, interview.
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- ²⁷⁴ Muhammad Shafick, interview
- ²⁷⁵ Muhammad Shafick, interview
- ²⁷⁶ Muhammad Shafick, interview
- ²⁷⁷ "Le Hizbut Tarqiyyah, qui signifie en arabe, parti de l'élévation," in Gueye, and Baba, "Le gran *magal* de Touba," *Social Compass*, 48, 3 (2001): 433.
- ²⁷⁸ Leonardo Villalon, "Generational changes, political stagnation, and the evolving dynamics of religions an politics in Senegal," *Africa Today* 46 (1999): 138.
- ²⁷⁹ Gueye and Baba, *Le gran magal de Touba*, 433.
- ²⁸⁰ Cheikh Kebe, interview.

Interviews

2007-2008

Mourides Interviews

Khadim Niang

First interview.

Saturday, 8 March 2008, 1,30, Green Market Square, Cape Town.

I saw Abdulahi, a Tijani, who has a shop for masks and African craft in Green Market. Next to his shop, there is another one selling small travel bags and sunglasses, his owner is Khadim Niang. The two shops are well situated in the first row. Abdulahi introduced me to Khadim and another Tijani. Both were seated when I approached them.. The Tijani got up and offered me a seat, and after that, Khadim offered me his chair. I introduced myself, and my work, and we started to talk. We had an informal conversation without any recording. The interview was in French.

Khadim Niang was born in Dakar but he was brought up in Ndiabour (Louga). He has been in Cape Tow for two years. I asked him about his *dahira*. He said that it is divided.

I asked him if there were many Bay Fall members in the *dahira*. He didn't answer directly. He explained to me the origin of the Bay Fall. He says that in the times of Cheikh Amadu Bamba, Ibra Fall was a *talibé* of Cheikh Amadu Bamba who worked very hard in the fields; he found and carried water for the Cheikh and for the community. He did the work of helping people and they said that Cheikh Amadu Bamba told him that he didn't have an obligation to pray.

Khadim said that, the cause of the division of the *dahira* came from the visit that Serigné Mbacké Falilou made in 2004. He visited all the places in South Africa where the *talibé* lived and told the people of Cape Town: " I saw people who work to

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gain money and do well. They can travel to Touba and Senegal every year, but the situation for other people is the contrary, because they don't have enough to live and they are suffering. I don't want this situation of division to continue, we have to help each other." He went to Port Elizabeth and he said the same things. The Mayor of Port Elizabeth had visited Touba, and he had gained a very good impression of the labour of the Mourides. When she came back, she met the *talibés*, and she promised to help the *talibés*. The *talibés* said they wanted to create a foundation, a general *dahira*, "*Mafatihul bichri*", which means "The key of happiness." This name unites all the Mouride groups. They wanted to have a legal organization accepted by the state. They got it as a result of the journey of the mayor of Port Elizabeth to Touba. This organization is focused in helping *talibés*, Senegalese and South Africans in difficulties. The address of the Foundation is:

Cheikh Amadu Bamba Foundation

P.O. Box 2427

14 Myrtle Avenue Northern (Pot Elisabeth)

Fax 0027414843169

Cab.foundation@hotmail.com

They have opened an account at First National Bank to keep the money collected for four purposes (social, house, *magal*, cultural). Now they have bought a house at 23 Cleredon Street in Brooklyn close to Shopright, in Ysterplaat.

The reason for the division of the *dahira* was that some *talibés* wanted to continue with the traditional way of collecting money and bringing it to Touba, and the others wanted to develop the Foundation way, which includes to use the banks. He said that 85% are following the new system. It is important to help the people-for

example, if somebody has problems with emigration the foundation can pay a lawyer to help.

I asked him about how they got their visas. He said that some got visas because they married South African women; others brought work permits from Senegal, and other got permits as refugees.

2nd interview

Monday, 10 March 2008

I arrived on time at 12 o'clock. Khadim wasn't there, there was a boy seated on a chair, who didn't know where he was. A very tall young man dressed in jeans, wearing a sleeveless t-shirt came. I asked him about Khadim, and he phoned him. He came 10 minutes later. He wore jeans and a new, clean grey t-shirt. We sat close to the shop on wooden benches with a table between us in the middle of the market surrounded by the sounds of the crowd and cars.

During the interview, a couple of people came to talk to him and he received two phone calls. None of the Mouride men who came to greet him wore boubous. All of them were in jeans and wore American caps.

The interview was in French. This is the translation of the recorded interview.

TZ. Your name is Khadim. You were born in Dakar, and then you moved to Louga, the capital Ndiabour. This is correct?

KN. Yes it is.

TZ. When did you move to Louga?

KN. I was born on 27 11 1974 in Dakar, and in 1983, my father died. I was the only boy from my mother. It was difficult for my mother to keep her only boy

among girls and for this reason she decided to send me to Louga to be educated with my paternal uncle (Sansuma) It was in 1984 when I left Dakar to go to Louga. He educated me, from 1984 to 1992.

TZ. What education did you have when you were with your uncle? Did you go to the madrasa?

KN. Ok. I had French education. My uncle had employed a *talibé* who taught us the Qur'an at home, especially Saturdays when we didn't have school, he came to teach us. We learned at home with a person who came every day to teach us after we came back from the school. It wasn't easy to educate one child with two different schools: the Qur'an and French school. This is the reason we had this man teaching us separately from French school. We started from here. In 1992, I stopped the French school, because I found I couldn't stay longer in this place. I ran away from my uncle to go to Dakar with my mother.

TZ. It was difficult for you? Was he very strict?

KN. It was difficult. He was very strict. He didn't want anything other than education. Because I was a difficult child.. Because I was a terrible child born in Dakar, who had lived at Dakar. The people there found that I was a different child from the others. I loved my mother; I loved my mother a lot. And one day I met somebody who came from Dakar, who told me my mother was suffering. "She only has daughters, your father died a long time ago and she has difficulties to survive honestly." Being me who I am, this affected me and I wanted to find something to help her. She was my mother.

One day my father, my uncle... He was busy with the football team of the place, called "N'Diambour"; He was one of the managers of the team. He left Louga to go to Dakar because the team was going to play there against the Biarraf of Dakar.

He left Louga one Thursday and immediately I thought, “ I’m going to do something, because my papa is not there, my uncle is not there, I want to do something, although he didn’t want me to leave the village, but my mother is at Dakar.” There was a lady who loved me a lot. I told her I wanted to go to Dakar to stay with my mother. She loved me a lot. You know women, if a woman has a child she looks at him as if he was her own child... She understood me; she helped me to get the transport. I took the money and I even left my clothes behind. My uncle left on Thursday and on Sunday I was in Dakar. My mother found me like that. My mother asked me, “Why did you come back to Dakar?” I told her, “I came to help you, somebody told me you couldn’t find enough to eat here. You are surrounded by girls, no boys here, you can’t make a living honestly. I’m here to help you.” She started to cry and cry. Automatically I thought I will be here two, three days... my mother gave me to another uncle, who was my maternal uncle. He had a small shop there in Dakar and I started working with him. But I found that I didn’t make enough there to support my mother. After five, six months I left the place

I didn’t find enough to live and I left because I wanted to have my own business. I found a place I would like to have. At this moment, I even didn’t have the money to leave a deposit for the shop I liked. I found a person there, he said, “You can get this shop, and I will talk to the owner of the shop. He can give you the shop, but it is important for you to get the money for the deposit.” The money I got was 50.000 francs. I got the place and immediately I started the work. Automatically I started to help my family.

TZ. What did you sell there?

KN. I had a food shop; onions, oil. I started like this. You know to African people the problem is a food problem. I went every day there to get the vegetables. I

sold them. It was a food Market where I had my shop. My little sister came; I gave her vegetables and money to buy more food in the market. She looked around, found what she needed, and went back home to prepare the meal for the family. Things started to change little by little. The problem of my mother was how to find food to nourish her children. I started from this. I found it interesting to start from this, to feed first before finding another thing. If the belly is full, everything can be arranged. I started from this...

My oldest sister after high school started university. She tried to prepare herself for the future. It is like that. This continued until my oldest sister was at the university. I was working there from 1992, 1993 to 2005. In 1999, my oldest sister finished the University and she started her work. She worked.

TZ. What did she study?

KN. She studied ENAM. She was the only one who graduated in a selection process. After that, she was an inspector in the Treasury in Dakar. Now she works in the Senegalese embassy in Mauritania. When she started to work, she helped me. We helped the family together. Everything changed and my mother found everything she wanted. My sister has changed everything; even last year she took my mother to Mecca. Because I found that my sister was there helping, I realised I could leave my work and the place to look for something for me. It is that which has pushed me to come to Cape Town.

TZ. But, why Cape Town?

KN. I tried to go three times to other places. The first time I went to Lisbon. They rejected me, because it is not easy to get a visa there. I paid an intermediary 2 million C.F.A.. At this time, I travelled there, they rejected me, and I lost the 2 million. Three months later, I came back to Senegal. I got some money and I went to

Paris; they rejected me. I came back again, get some money and I tried to go to Spain, and they rejected me too. It was in 2002?

In 2005, I went to Johannesburg. I was there 3 months, but because things were not going very well, I decided to come to Cape Town. I wanted to get what I wanted little by little. We have hope, we manage not too badly. If we find it we stay, if not, we leave. We will look for other things.

TZ. This is the way of the Mourides, travelling.

KN. (Small laughs).

TZ. People from Cape Town, from the Mouride, did they help you?

KN. Not everybody can help you financially, but psychologically they helped me a lot. They helped me a lot. There are very honest people here who helped me a lot. I'm not a special person, but they took me for somebody who is special. I know I'm no special person, but the people here take me for something special. Inside of me, I know I'm not special, I am like the others. But they are people who take me as a great man, I'm very grateful for that. These people push me to become something special and I am on the way to becoming somebody people respect. They have helped me a lot. I can't talk more I cannot say everything.

TZ. I'm going to stop to look if the machine works.

TZ. You said that people had helped you.

KN. When I came here, you know that the Senegalese live together. With my nephew being here, automatically I had a place with them.

TZ. That man who came ...

KN. He lives on another side.

TZ. He came and said he was your brother.

KN. Possibly.

TZ. He was tall.

KN. mmm. He is the son of my eldest sister. I came first; I came the first to South Africa. He came after me, but he came directly to Cape Town. At this time I was in Johannesburg, this is the reason that he knows Cape Town better than me. We live together and we share the expenses of the food.

TZ. Do you live together in the same place?

KN. We live together in Cape Town, very close to here, in Long street.

TZ. When did you become Mouride?

KN Before I was born. I have the name of the grand Cheikh. All my family are Mourides. Mouride from the father and from the mother. All my grand parents were Mourides. I was born Mouride. I am a child of religion. My grand father was a singer among the singers of Serigné Touba. He was in Ndiareme when Serigné was in Ndiarem. Ndiarem was the first town in Dakar. I'm following in his footsteps...my grand father recited Qur-an and was one of the religious singers, the singer of *qasidas*. I was becoming his successor, before in Senegal I was part of an organization called Hizbut'Tarkhiya Darou Khoudoss.

TZ. It was a student organization? A youth organization?

KN This organization has pushed me to love ...the people of religion... this organization was born from *Hizbut Tarkhiya* Tuku. When the intellectuals lead, always there are divisions; at this moment, there were differences. This pushed the Cheikh to interfere. He couldn't take one side against the other; he had to be in the middle. Because there were differences, he gave the old house to *Hizbut Tarkhiya* Tuku and he gave another house to *Hizbut Tarkhiya* Darou. This things pushed them to become another organization. Both of them work for the Cheikh, collect for the Cheikh, work in the fields for the Cheikh, collect for the Cheikh, give him things to

live on...Each one finds its way to work better than the other. When they have differences, each Mouride find its way of working is better than the other. This is the problem of the Mouride.” I see better than you.” This is the problem here in Cape Town.

TZ. We can return later to this subject, but when did you start to work with this organization?

KN. I became an active member in 1999.

TZ. Is it with this organization that you became actively Mouride?

KN. Yes, because they follow the way I like. The way is comprehensive. They only talk about the Cheikh, how to become a Muslim, how to become a brother *talibé*, how to become a *talibé* everybody admires. I found this way thanks to them. I can say that to everybody I speak with. Thanks to them. They even change my language. I don’t find the words for you to understand the things I want to say. They gave me many things. Before, all the time, I asked myself what I was going to do to become a Mouride, a true *talibé*. I struggle all the time even now, this is the problem. How to become a true *talibé*.

TZ. This is in the hands of Allah.

KN. Yes, but in my case, it is taking long. I was born in 1974 and I haven’t found the way to be the *talibé* I want to be. I found the people here, mentally they live the life of the *talibés* I would like to, but me, I haven’t found it yet. If I tell you the truth, I’m thinking all the time of going back to my country, all the time to go back. I even forget that I am here to try to organize my future. Some times, I think “this is nothing, it remains here...the money I’m looking for remains here. If tomorrow or... because, despite everything I am going to die, I don’t want to leave this world with the money I gain, but I want to leave this life with the *talibé*.” You

know also that money is part of life, that you gain your dignity with money. The Cheikh says that to become *talibé*, you have first to work; you have to be a determined worker, a determined worker...the one who knows how to gain his life. Before, if you say to the Cheikh "I want to become a *talibé*", the first thing he asks from you is to help, to go to do the things he asks you to do. You respect it each time and you come back. The first wasila, the first Cheikh . . . to gain and to become a man . . . I got married myself in the country.

TZ. Do you have a wife there?

KN. Yes I married there, I have a child. My father gave me the name of the Cheikh, Khadim and I gave the name of the Cheikh to my son, and he has the same name as me, Khadim. I would like to organize the life of my son...

TZ. Would you like your wife to come to live here?

KN. mmmm. .ooo. Not to come to live. To come to visit, yes I would like, but to come to live no. I prefer to go back myself

TZ. Why you don't like this?

KN. Because the education is not the same.

TZ. I understand

KN. It is truly a change. The things I resist the woman can't resist.

TZ. It's difficult.

KN. I found it is difficult. If I found a few of the things I am looking for here, I would go back to reorganise my life. I am thinking about that every day. I have been here for 2 years and some months, and it has started to be long to me. I'm feeling I'm wasting my life, as if the work of the Cheikh isn't here.

TZ. How many Mourides are you here?

KN. We are a lot, a lot here. I can't count. 90% of the Senegalese here are the Mourides.

TZ. When do you meet to celebrate the *magal* how many people, do you meet there?

KN. We are a lot, a lot

Interruption telephone

KN. He wanted to give me a CD I made on the *magal*.

TZ. Were there many people?

KN. There were the Tijani, the mustashidin...many people.

TZ. 200, 300?

KN. Probably, because there were families. Some of the Senegalese have married in South Africa and also there were visitors, South African visitors. Many people. We recited "kamid" (Kamid means to recite the whole Qur'an) Do you know 'kamid" from the Qur'an?

We recited 20 "kamid." (This means that they recited the Qur'an 20 times). Many people did it during the day.

TZ. But in Mowbray, you saw each other twice a week, on Thursday and on Saturday, where you did dhikr.

KN. In Mowbray we saw each other on Thursday, Tuesday and Saturday.

TZ. But now it is continuing?

KN. It continues for the people who stay there. But also, I am from the other side. We see each other every week on Sunday, in the house of a *talibé*, because we don't yet have our own centre. Meanwhile we see each other in another place, Kensington, after Maitland.

TZ. Is this place hired?

KN. It is not hired. It was bought by a *talibé*, a Senegalese man, for him, and we used it because we didn't have a house yet. We have bought our own house now, although the owner stays there, but the delay is coming to an end very soon; then we are going to establish ourselves there. We are going to see each other every day after work; we will go there to speak about the Cheikh, to try to develop the work.

TZ. What about the people who remain in Mowbray? I realised that they have improved the house, they have painted it, and it looks more beautiful. Before it wasn't very well kept. Why have they remained in Mowbray?

KN. I answered you this question before.

TZ. But, why do they want to follow the old ways?

KN. They will answer this question better than me.

TZ. I will have to talk with them.

KN. Yes, because I don't know what is happening there. Possibly, as I said before, each Mouride thinks that his way of looking at things is better for the Cheikh than the others. Each one tries to find something, which is better for the Cheikh. It is only that, there are not fights no, no. Each one tries to find better things for the Cheikh.

TZ. I remember I met there in Mowbray a man called Assane, and another called Modou. I think Moudou was Bay Fall and also it was a relative of Cheikh Amadu Bamba whose name was Ibrahim. Do you know if they continue to be there?

KN. The grandson of Cheikh Amadu Bamba has returned to the country. He doesn't live there anymore. Khalid?

TZ. No Khalid, Ibrahim.

KN. When people started to discuss this subject, he had already left the country. But have you understood the things I said of the Foundation? I've forgotten

to bring the document, which explains it. You can give me your telephone number and when I find it, I will phone you to give it to you because if you read it you are going to understand better.

TZ. All right, also I'm interested in the goal of the foundation, which is to help the *talibés* and the South Africans too. You said that you collect money, which you put in the bank, and you utilise some here, if there is any needs, and also you sent some to Touba (Senegal).

KN. Yes, we send money to be built a "*Jumu'a* mosque"¹ there, which has started to build there. Also there is the social issue to help each other, there is the case of the house we are buying, and each one who wants to help can put money in it. There is the help to the *magal*; there is a reference in the account, which goes direct to the Cheikh to help the people there, and the pilgrims to go there... Do you know that the *magal* started because the Cheikh asked the people to help him to thank God? You can read here. (He showed me this in a book he gave to me), because the Cheikh found something at certain moment, something he was looking at for ages. It happened one day, the day of (Saha?). He found the things he was looking for, the things he wanted, through the Eternal this day. He said, "everybody who is in the world... the one who finds 'my happiness is your happiness', when this day comes again, he thanks God with me for the things He has done for me." This is the reason for the celebration of the *magal*, because the *magal* is the day of thanks, the day of recitation of Qur'an, the station of "*khasaides*" (*qasidas*), to help each other to speak good of others. This is the day of *magal*. I can't explain very well because I am not so strong in French.... To help each other, to find something inaccessible, to thank,

¹ *Jumu'a* mosque is the place where the *Jumu'a* prayer is performed on Fridays

everybody thank God. We the Mouride, the Cheikh has done... we have something on us. We got that thanks to the Cheikh, this is the reason...

TZ. This is the spirit which gives life to everything we do because without this spirit, it loses meaning.

KN. It loses meaning, because every Wednesday somebody comes to collect money to put in the account of the Cheikh. Every Sunday, if we meet each other, we give to the Cheikh. We give twice a week. And this is little for us; if we could, we would give him every day.

TZ. I would like to know a bit more how this foundation is organised.

KN. There is a board with the President (we renew every year) the Treasurer, each branch account has somebody in charge of the account of the foundation. We have put four different people in charge. Me, particularly, I'm the librarian. There are different branches. There is the library, there are people who are in charge of the Qur'an, there are people in charge of the kitchen and also the office in charge of the administration, people in charge of information, the people who co-ordinate everything for the people with problems, another branch to help people in need of legal documentation. Many branches.

TZ. Who is the president?

KN. The president has left South Africa to go to the country. He had to take care of himself, his health wasn't good. He had problems... you know that it is difficult for certain people to be far from the family for a long time.

TZ. It is very difficult,

KN. Yeah. We try to work for the Cheikh.

TZ. When the President is not here, who is the person in charge?

KN. This is the one who phoned me to give me the money.

TZ. What is his name?

KN. Abdullah, Cheikh Leye, who is the president of Cape Town.

The president of the Foundation is Cheikh Kebe, he is in Port Elizabeth.

In Johannesburg is Modou Bousso-Diop.

Third interview

22 March 2008.

I interviewed Khadim in his shop. We had several interruptions, and the sound of the recording was quite bad, because of the market background and I could not understand several things from his answers.

TZ. Did you have any racial discrimination in South Africa?

KN. I haven't had this situation in South Africa...I haven't seen this kind of abnormal situation here...Everything goes very well between me and the South Africans. I don't have any problem.

TZ. No problems?

KN. No, I remain within my limits, and I don't do things that don't concern me. I remain within my limits, probably this is because I haven't found these kind of things.

TZ. How are the relations with South African Muslims?

KN. The relations are similar to the relations of Muslims with everybody. You know that for some of South African Muslims it is difficult to understand that if you have a black skin you are a Muslim.. Perhaps they think that you try to hatch something pretending you are a Muslim and you are not. I was born Muslim, I grew up Muslim and I will also die Muslim.

TZ. Inshallah.

KN. If they look at me as a Muslim all to the good, if they consider me, as belonging to another sect, this is not my problem. The things I have to do for my religion I'm going to do with them or without them. I will continue to be a Muslim. Now they have started to understand little by little that there are Muslims from Western Africa, who are true Muslims. Some of them...go to Jum'a and to the mosque and South African people are starting to understand that in Western Africa there are also Muslims.

(Interruption. Clients came and KN. had to pay attention to them)

TZ. We were talking of South African Muslims. Is there any kind of difference among South African Muslims? The ““Malay”” or the Indian, or Black South African? Do you have different relation with them? For example with the “Malay”?

KN. I don't know them well, and because all of us are Muslim, for the moment little by little, I try to understand them., because we don't know them well. We can't say anything of these Muslim because I don't know them well.

TZ. With the Indians?

KN. The few Indians I know are good people, who help each other and also respect Muslim people who have come from other countries. The African Muslims, the Black Muslims, who come from different parts of Africa, we understand each other, we help each other

TZ. What impression do you have of the South Africans' opinion of the Mourides?

KN. The South Africans who know Mouridism, the ones who try to understand the Mouridism... if you understand what Mouridism is, immediately you take them as a brother or sister. We are here, our dedication is well known all over

the world. We help people, we respect everybody. We are here thanks to the Cheikh....The Mourides are in the five parts of the world. People know them, as people who are on the good path, which is the work, the honesty... doing things well is our motto. If the South Africans..., because they have started to understand what Mouridism is, the South African respect this.....we work or we help not only the Mouride but also everybody. If you are not Mouride and you come to us, we take you automatically as one of us. We deal with you as if you were from us. The Cheikh told us "help people, help the poor and help the people who don't understand to understand", OK ...This is because if you come to us automatically we consider you as a Mouride The South African Mourides know that and they say to their families everywhere in Africa that it is in the interest of South Africans to be with the Mourides"...We try to be everywhere the Cheikh couldn't be before. This is what concerns us and gives us the strength to work, to continue our work....

TZ. How many South Africans have become Mouride in Cape Town?

KN. I can't count. There are people. There is a 'metis' who sent his son to Senegal to be educated and now he speaks Wolof... there is another who sent his son to be under the responsibility of the Bay Fall kaliph.... Even the other tariqas send children from South Africa to be educated in Senegal... they are South Africans in Touba and they become true Senegalese...If you see them you think they are Senegalese, they speak Wolof very well ... they master the Qur'an, they master the things that the Muslims have to know.... We try to convince other parents here to do the same with their children, and we want to help them, giving the means to do it...

Mouridism means a path, which goes directly to God.

TZ. Do South Africans participate in the meetings you have on Sundays, where you sing qasidas?

KN. Yeah...We invite them to come to explain to them who we are. If they come one, or two times, three times they automatically understand that “these people (the Mourides) don’t work for their own benefit, but they work in the way of the Muslims.” There are people from other countries too, some Egyptians who come to us and recite Qur’an. They consider themselves to be Senegalese. These are the things we try. We try now to do this everywhere in the world. Wherever you go in the world there are Mourides doing the things we want to do, this is our goal. Now is our time, yesterday there were other people, today is our time, tomorrow other people will do this. We try to do the things we have to do.... Our way of talking... Everything I want for the Cheikh...

We are here to continue the work. Perhaps I’m here for this work or tomorrow I have to leave to another place to continue this work. While life exists we don’t stop the work. If you understand me, this... you will understand better, who is the Cheikh. I see that and I wish that everybody can pray for me to ask that I can finish the dream I have for the Cheikh.

TZ. How many groups of Mourides are in the Western Cape?

KN. Port Elizabeth, East London, Johannesburg...wherever they go they carry the torch. Each one thinks that it is he who has to transmit the message of the Cheikh. This is difficult and is not difficult. If you find a Mouride in the street, and you know their way, you will notice he is a Mouride. We have our way of greeting, we have our way of talking to each other, this is because there is not me, there is not you, but there is the Cheikh.

TZ. It is the model.

KN. It is the model of the Cheikh. If I see you, automatically I don’t see you I see the Cheikh, and you don’t see me, you see the Cheikh.. You like me as I was the

child of the Cheikh, and I like you as if you were the child of the Cheikh. It is like that, we help each other. If you have a problem, you go to see a Mouride. They try to help, but if they can't, they speak with you or they will give you advice. This is mouridism..

TZ. In Kensington do the women attend the meetings?

KN. As I told you there are Senegalese who are married to South Africans. They have families. The place in Kensington is small and there is not space for everybody, but soon we will go to our own place, and then we will inaugurate the house we bought. We foresee a place for the children. We will have one school for Senegalese children to understand their religion. We also have the intention of opening our doors for the people who live there, to everybody. Nobody will pay.

TZ. Is there going to be one school where the South African Muslims can go too, not only for the Senegalese?

KN. Not only for the Senegalese. We are going to bring a Qur'anic teacher from our country to help us; we will pay with our money. This is not my idea. It is the idea of Cheikh Mbacké Falilou and the son of Cheikh Murtada. He himself has promised and said "go to Senegal and bring a Qur'anic teacher to South Africa. We will pay him or the Senegalese state will do it." This is the thing we are doing. When the house is ready, we will start, if God wills.

TZ. Thank you very much. One question more in relation to the merchandise you sell in Green Market Square. Do you get it here in Cape Town from a wholesaler or from abroad?

KN. Yes here, for example the bags we sell here, we buy in Cape Town. We go to the wholesaler, we buy at a price and then we sell at a bit more to gain some money.

TZ. Are the wholesalers Muslims?

KN. No, there are some, but in general they are not.

TZ. Are the economic transactions fair, are they Ok?

KN. Yes, they are correct. Yes, because you go there, and there is a fixed price for the merchandise, which is written down. You pay the price; you don't discuss there, the price is there.

Here, in the market perhaps you bargain with the clients, but there you don't discuss, they have written down the price, you pay what they want and you take what you want. There is no credit, we pay cash.

Fourth interview

16 October 2008

This interview was in French. No translation.

I visited Khadim in his shop with two friends. When he saw us he came to us immediately. He looked happy and energetic. In his stall a young man dressed with an elegant jacket was seated. Khadim said he was a hafiz of the Qur'an and their Imam in the *dahira* of Brooklyn. We greeted him and he spoke with my friend. Later Khadim and I we went to another place to talk.

He brought me to a café where we could speak without interruptions, although the place was very noisy and I could not hear him well. He said that many things have happened among them since we saw each other last time.

KN. Elles étaient claires les choses que je t'avais dites avant?

TZ. Oui, les choses que vous m'avez dites et les choses que j'ai reçues de Cheikh Kebe étaient très claires.

Cheikh Kebe était le président de la Fondation?

KN. Il était le président de tout, mais depuis le mois avant Ramadan nous avons eu une assemblée général là-bas à Johannesburg et nous avons changé le bureau complètement. Maintenant presque tout est dirigé à Cape Town. Le président est maintenant à Cape Town..... Il est Sergine Mbacké Dieng. Il porte le nom du premier petit-fils du Cheikh

Le monde bouge à travers Internet et les intellectuels sont nécessaires pour développer cette tâche. Maintenant Dawd Cissé est un intellectuel qui va à développer cette tâche,

TZ. Il appartient à *Hizbut Tarkhiya*?

KN. Il n'est pas fait part de *Hizbut Tarkhiya*, mais il est très près d'eux. Il a étudié à l'université avec eux.

Beaucoup des choses ont changé depuis le mois de juin. Le Cheikh a envoyé son petit frère à Cape Town avec le message de que toutes les choses que nous avons ici : les propriétés que les Mourides ont, même toutes les cuillères et les tasses, on va être part de la propriété de la Fondation. La carte d'identité du Cheikh ici à l'Afrique du sud est « Cheikh Ahmed Bamba Fondation », parce que c'est le groupe reconnu par le gouvernement Sur africain.

Les Mourides ont deux maisons en propriété à Johannesburg lesquelles étaient enregistrées sous le nom de la Fondation depuis hier.

TZ. Et les gens de Mowbray?

KN. Bon, le Khalif a envoyé son petit-fils à Cape Town. Il est venu, on a écouté le message, mais le message n'était pas pour nous, le message était pour Mowbray. Il était dans un hôtel... Le jeudi, il a quitté l'hôtel et il est allé voir les gens de Mowbray. Il les a donné le message et ils ont compris. Après ça la moitié des gens ont à commencer à venir à la fondation.

Les autres ils sont Mourides et c'est entre nous de nous arranger. Si le Cheikh signale a chemin en disant que c'est celui la qui est dans le bon chemin, si quelqu'un refuse après ça... Si quelqu'un refuse... En tant que *talibé*, je ne discute pas avec les gens, mais les gens ont va a venir On ne veut pas se battre. Je ne veux pas me battre. C'est une question de politique, bientôt on va oublier tous ces problèmes.

TZ. Quelles sont les activités de la Fondation maintenant ?

KN. C'est une bonne question. Le président de la Fondation et le trésorier, ils sont à Cape Town. Le plus important c'est continuer les indications de Cheikh Murtada, c'est créer l'éducation islamique. Tout le monde va à venir, grâce a Dieu.

Il y a un Imam a Caledon qui est le président de la branche culture de "Sur Afriq"e. Son nom est Imam Gueye. Il a la responsabilité de créer cette éducation. Tous les samedis, on contribue pour l'école coranique Quand l'argent sera prêt ont commencera les classes. Le fils du Cheikh Murtada a parlé au président du Sénégal, Abdulaye Wade de payer un maître pour cette école, payé par l'état Sénégalais.

L'autre branche est la branche sociale. Le Cheikh nous a dit que nous sommes de musulmans et nous sommes ici, nous devons être ici avec des problèmes que les gens ont ici. Parce qu'il y en a beaucoup des Sénégalais avec des problèmes, Il y en a des Sénégalais qui dorment dehors et cette situation doit être résolu. C'est dirigé à résoudre les problèmes de les Sénégalais ici, et à élever la situation que les Sénégalais ont a Sur Afrique... non, des gens qui habitent dans les rues. Le 15 de chaque mois on contribue pour aider les Sénégalais qui ont de problèmes avec son travail, mais ont ne les donne gratuitement, c'est un prêt. Après si tu travailles et tu as un peu d'argent tu peux le rendre. Mais ça c'est ne pas seulement pour les Mourides, c'est

pour tout le monde et je suis choisi pour entretenir les relations entre les Mourides et les Tijanis. Il faut aussi aider les malades.

Le 25 de Décembre ont va a louer une sale ou tous les Sénégalais de Cape Town, vont se réunir pour faire de la récitation du Qur'an...Je vais me déplacer a Mowbray pour les expliquer cette journée. Cette journée ce n'est pas pour Mowbray c'est ne pas pour les Mourides, c'est ne pas pour les Tijanis c'est pour tous les Sénégalais.

Murtar Sembaye

30-March-2008. Sunday

I had an appointment with Papa Abdou Thiam, another Senegalese Mouride. I arrived early in Green Market Square on Sunday at ten past one. The market was nearly empty. The stalls were occupying less than half of the space of the market. On Sundays, the whole commercial centre of Cape Town is closed. The tourists go to other places. Papa Abdou Thiam was not there, I phoned him twice but the telephone was off. I looked around and I saw a tall man who looked like a Senegalese. He was talking with a couple of men seated on a metal fence. I did not have anything to lose, I approached him, and I addressed him. After greeting him, I asked if he was Senegalese. I asked if I could interview him and he accepted. He was a Muslim, and also a member of the Muridiyya tariqa.

The interview was in French. I didn't record the first part of the interview, because I had just met him at the market. I did the interview at Green

Market Square beside his stall of African masks. We were seated on a metal fence. The market was very quiet, and only few tourists approached the stall. Two African acquaintances came to greet him.

Murtar Sembaye is 45 years old and he was born in Djourbel. He married a South African woman three years and six month ago. He has a three year old son. He is a Mouride who participates in the meetings of the Kensington *dahira*.

TZ. When did you came to South Africa?

MS. I came in 1998.

TZ. Why did you choose Cape Town?

MS. I was working in Belgium and in France from 1985 to the 1990s, I was working in African Arts, but little by little the business became difficult in Europe and I heard that Cape Town had many tourists; this is my reason for leaving Europe for Cape Town.

TZ. How are your meetings in the *dahira*?

MS. We have our weekly celebrations on Saturdays. We start around 3:30 with doing *kamil*. (Reading the whole Qur-an) 12 or 13 people read one after the other. This depends on the number of people who are there. After that, we sing *khassides* (qasidas) for around 45 minutes, ... We do *dhikr*, La illaha illallah around 30 minutes and we do “*duas*”...After we finish, we eat and we go home.

TZ. Do you have another meeting on Sundays?

MS. No, on Sundays we don't have meetings but next Sunday, next Sunday, we will have one meeting on Saturday and another on Sunday. Before in the place we were, we had problems among ourselves, among the Mourides here. It wasn't a problem,.. It wasn't a fundamental problem... What we wanted is that... we want changes. The people who were here before choose to follow their way, the other

people didn't have a voice. We told them, if they liked it or not, now we will do, the *dahira* always, always [this means meetings]. They came and they gave us their own ideas, but they didn't want us to contact them, to give them our opinions. For us, because the world changes...the things we want are... we want to put everything in a foundation ... the people who were here before didn't want to do this and then we split. After a while, three months later, the people who supported the idea of a foundation we met together, and now we share the same place.

...There is a friend, who lent us his house to do the *dahira* there, and we did the *dahira* in his house, but three months later, we prepared ourselves and we bought a house. This house...

TZ. Why didn't other people want changes, and in which way were you presenting changes?

MS. The problem is not a lack of trust. They have a procedure, and we gave them our procedure. Now the world is changing and you know when the world changes, money has to go through the banks, money has to go through the banks. You can't do anything in a country without getting in touch with other ideas. This is the reason, we have this house, and we have created a foundation. The house is going to have its own name. We called the lawyers to take care of these matters. We are going to have a house opened for every Senegalese who needs it; it doesn't matter if he is Muslim Tijani, Qadiri, Layene or Christian. It is for everybody. Each one who comes here and is newly arrived, and doesn't have any place to sleep, he can go there to sleep, and he can go there to eat. Before people couldn't do this. Now we have bought a house. This house is going to open next Sunday.

TZ. Is it going to be a place for the Senegalese to sleep? It looks as if it is big.

MS. Mmmm. For the travellers, the people new in Cape Town. You can sleep there for four months, five months, six months.

TZ. Did you say that you wanted to expand your relationship with South Africans?

I'm not sure that I understood well, but do you think that the people from the *dahira* of Mowbray don't have the same interests as you in meeting South African people?

MS. No. They don't have any problem with the South Africans; this is a problem among the Senegalese. Among us, it is not because of the South Africans or because of other people, it is only our problem.

TZ. Particularly if the differences are in relation to the money, how do you send the money to Senegal?

MS- Before we sent money with people, but now we want to do bank's transactions.

TZ. What are your future projects for this house?

MS. This house, our projects? We are going to have a mosque there, to pray, we are going to teach Muslim religion there, we are going to teach the *hasaides* of Serigné Touba there. And also, we want to have a kindergarten there to teach the children, not only the Senegalese children but also the children of everybody, it doesn't matter if they are Xhosa, Zulu, or Malawian, from SwTZiland or from Zimbabwe. The house is open for everybody.

TZ. And women? Are women going to participate there?

MS. The women participate. They have their place.

TZ. But do women go to the *dahira*?

MS. Not a lot for the moment.

TZ. Do you have projects to invite women there?

M. Yeah.

TZ. How are the relationships with other Africans?

MS. We don't have problems. We are here to work... and to teach the people who want to learn... everybody works with us; we don't have any problems with anybody.

TZ. In which way is Cape Town different to other places where you have lived?

MS. Cape Town is a place of peace. There is not racism here.

TZ. No?

MS. No. We don't have problems here.

Most of the racists here, they say they are the whites, but the blacks who live here are more racist than the whites...That's it...We want to work, these are the things we want.

TZ. Which are the most positive aspects of Cape Town and the aspects, which are negative here? The good and the bad things in Cape Town?

MS. The things I don't like in Cape Town, there are too many street children and also you see somebody who has a child on her shoulder and walks with the child to get money like that. This is not beautiful; this is not beautiful to see. They are five or four year old little girls, that the mama leaves there, who are there dancing to get money. If they do this now, what is going to happen later? They are going to become prostitutes. It would be better if they stayed at home and got an education. These are the things I don't like.

TZ. And the things you prefer here?

MS. Here? In Cape Town? I love everything here.

The mountain is beautiful, the sea is beautiful, there is goodwill, and there is peace.

TZ. Do you feel settled in Cape Town?

MS. Yes

TZ. Would you like to stay here?

MS. No... We want to stay, we left our country, our problem is we want to work, to work, and we want to contribute to this country with the things we have in our heads, and to have good relationship with the people here. We don't have political problems, we don't have them. Problems of religion, we don't have problems... the problem is to have work, and to have peace.

TZ. To travellers, to people like you, what is your idea of home? What is being at home to you?

MS. When you leave your country, you leave your mother, you leave the people behind, and it is painful I must admit, that this is painful, but also you find in these things when you travel, that there is a lesson, there is a lesson. Every day, at the evening...when you find somebody who annoys you, you could speak to him badly... But have you travelled from so far to fight with somebody? No, this doesn't interest you, it is like a military ...

Always there are people who speak about bad things, there are people who love you and people who don't love you, even in France, Spain, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria it is the same. Wherever you go there are people who love you and people who don't, but I (We) are not interested in it. The people don't feed you, it is you who feed yourself, but you have to do things with a lot of consciousness.

TZ. But what does being at home mean to you?

MS. To be at home, to be with the mother is good, is all right, your wife, your children it is good. This gives you pride, but it doesn't mean when you are elsewhere you lose your pride, you haven't lost this pride, it is only that you don't have the family, you think of them, you miss them. But it is God who knows it. He knows His ways.

TZ. Do you have plans to do other things?

MS. I would like to have other things at home, to do something like opening a shop for myself, with my children, working with my brothers.

TZ. Do you work alone here?

MS. I work alone but I contract some South Africans

TZ. Where do you buy the masks?

MS. The masks? There are some which come from the Ivory Coast, others from Cameroon, others from Mali. People leave, there are travellers who leave, and they prepare a container to come here. We pay for it. If they have the opportunity to go, they go and bring things.

TZ. Do you buy from a wholesale place?

MS. These people who bring the things are wholesalers.

TZ. When you go to the wholesalers, do you find that the transactions are fair?

MS. They are fair. The majority of the people who work in this field are South Africans or Guineans. We work together. The wholesalers need us and we need them.

TZ. When did the Mourides first come to Cape Town?

MS. Some people came here for the first time around 1997. They came to South Africa.... the South Africans didn't know other people, the foreigners. We have lost many brothers because many brothers are dead. It is the same when the

Senegalese went to New York at the beginning. It is the same as when the Senegalese went to France, there were people who died, people we lost. This is the reason that some people preferred to leave certain places in Cape Town or in Johannesburg to avoid the crime. But other people came to Cape Town looking for work, because in Cape Town it is possible to work. It is like that.

TZ. I know that you the Senegalese, have a Khaliph at the head of everything and also that you have individual Cheikhs. The *dahira* of Kensington depends on the Khaliph, but do you have individual Cheikh too?

MS. Here?

TZ. In Senegal.

MS. You know in Senegal there are plenty of Cheikhs.

TZ. But who is your Cheikh?

MS. My Cheikh is the Cheikh of the Mouridism, the Khaliph of everybody, Cheikh Bara Mbacké.

TZ. How is the relationship with other tariqas here, with the Senegalese from other tariqas, with the Tijani?

MS. We in Senegal don't have problems with other tariqas. The one who is Qadiri is Qadiri, the one who is Tijani is Tijani, the one who is *Wahhabi* is *Wahhabi*, this concerns only himself... the one who is Christian is Christian, but the children play together, the children mix, we don't have this problem.

TZ. Thank you very much.

Papa Abdou Thiam

31-March-2008

I arrived at 1:30. I greeted Papa Abdou. I told him that I phoned him the day before. He asked when and I told him at 1:30. He said that yesterday he had his telephone off because his wife in Senegal had lost her baby in labour. I sympathised with him, he said briefly, and with gravity, that it was Allah's will.

He said that he only had 30 minutes to talk with me, because he had an appointment with somebody at 2 o'clock. Before we started, he asked me about my interviews. He looked a bit suspicious and reluctant. I explained to him what the goal of the interviews was, and he said something like South Africans sometimes bring foreigners to you to get information from you. I tried to assure him that this was not so in my case and that I was not working for the police. It looked as if he was feeling easier in his mind, and he said that we could start.

We were seated close to each other in his stall selling African Art, surrounded by African masks. The interview was interrupted three times by interested tourists. The flow of the interview was quite difficult, he controlled his answers, and sometimes he gave vague answers instead of clear answers. When we started the interview and I showed the recording machine, he said he agreed to the interview, but not to the recording. I asked him if I could take notes. He agreed.

He lives down town close to the market.

He was born in Linguir (Louga) 300 km north of Dakar. He relaxed a bit when explained to me where this area is.

He studied in a Senegalese French School and had lessons to learn Qur'an separately. His family are Wolof and the whole family are Mourides from the father's and from the mother's side.

He is married here to a South African woman .

He said that he was working in Dakar in the field of African Arts. I asked him if he had tried to go to Europe. He said: No, but that he tried to go to New York around 1993, but he did not make it clear if he went to New York or not.

He came to South Africa in 1996, first Johannesburg, then Cape Town. He came here looking for work because he likes the people and the place. When he first arrived, the Mourides helped him by lending him money. He shares his business with a friend.

He thought that the Mourides came here in the 1990s. Now they have a *dahira* in Mowbray where they meet weekly, Thursdays and Saturdays, a group of 20 or 30 people.

I asked him, what it meant for him to be a Mouride.

He said to work together and to follow God and the way of Rasullulah.

I asked him about the difference between Tijanis and Mourides. He said that Cheikh A.Bamba took the *tashbih* from other tariqas and united them working for a long time in the way of Allah and Rasullullah.

I asked him about the differences between the *dahira* of Mowbray and the *dahira* of Kensington. He says that they have established a Foundation and that Cheikh Amadu Bamba did not have any foundation, that Cheikh Amadu Bamba worked for *subhana wa ta Allah*.

I asked if the two tariqas have united in the celebration of the big events of the *mawlud* and the *magal* this year. He said: No. Each one celebrated separately. In 2007, Mourides and Tijanis celebrated the *mawlud* together, but not this year

I asked him if the *dahira* is connected with a particular Cheikh. He said that it is connected with Cheikh Murtada. Everybody is connected under the authority of the Khaliph. There is one talk, one line. They follow the guidance of their Cheikhs.

I asked him what contribution the Mourides are giving to South African society. He said that the singing of *qasidas* brings more peace than anything. When you do it, the people do not feel their problems. People love to hear the *qasidas*. But when there is peace, *shaytan* comes in and tries to break this peace, dividing people. Sometimes, there are *munafigun*, always there are some *munafigun*, trying to divide.

I asked him if any South Africans had become Muslim through them. He said: Yes, some Xhosa people here, and in Johannesburg, there is a group of Zulus, living in Soweto, who have learned to sing *qasidas*.

I asked if they have a school in the centre. He said that they used to have, but now only teach the people who go there and ask for it. Some of the South Africans send their children to learn in Senegal. (He did not give me any figures when I asked him about numbers, His answers were: “I don’t know, it is difficult to say. I don’t remember.”

About the relations with the “Malay”, he said that they only greet each other, they say things like, “as salamu aleykum..” He said he doesn’t have any relationship with the Indians, and little relationship with Muslim Black South Africans.

On the contrary, he said that they are close to the other Senegalese tariqas; they prepare events together, and help when somebody dies. But this year they didn't do the *Mawlud* together.

I asked what the best thing is for him in South Africa_ He said that he likes people and the relationship with them. I asked about the differences between South Africans and Senegalese. He said they are very different; one is that the majority of Senegalese are Muslims and here they are not. He repeated: "you can compare, they are very different," but I couldn't get more examples of their differences.

I asked about one thing he doesn't like in South Africa. He said he came here to work, not to go to nightclubs, and he ignores the things he doesn't like.

I asked him how he felt about being settled here. He said that he would like to make enough money here to go back to Senegal and to establish a business there and to live close to his family.

One of the tourists who approached to see his wares spent quite a lot of time bargaining. They came and returned. At the end, Papa Abdou Thiam sold them two wooden statues. When he came, I asked him if he was happy with the transaction. He said: "These German people didn't pay me a good price. The woman was interfering all the time.." I asked him: "Do you think women are more difficult to deal with in business", He said: "These Germans are Christian and the women decide a lot. In Senegal it is the man who decides." I told him: "Always? Women don't decide anything in Senegal?" He said, "Yes they decide on certain things, but in the important things it is the man who decides."

DAHIRA of Brooklyn

Sunday, 6-04-2008

23 Claredon Street

Yster Plaat 7405

The 6th of April my husband and I went to visit, the new centre that the Mourides bought to establish the Foundation in Brooklyn. It was the day of the inauguration.

The house is in a quiet street with similar small houses, and it has a piece of land with grass and trees in the front. The house is a simple and clean building that they have painted inside and outside. When we arrived at 2:30, was late and there were groups of men wearing boubous talking outside of the house ready to leave, others inside were cleaning the big white enamelling receptacles that the Mourides use to eat when they have community meals. I did not see any signs of women or children there. The singing of the *dhikr* and of the qasidas filled the space all the time. We met Khadim Niang there who said that Cheikh Awa Balla had already gone to the airport to fly to PE. It was a pity! With him was a young man wearing glasses and with a wooden *tashbih* around his neck. Khadim introduced him to us as the President of the Foundation, Cheikh Kebe from Port Elizabeth. I asked if I could interview him, he said that he was in a bit of a hurry, but after ten minutes, he would come to talk with us. Khadim took us inside the house into a rectangular room painted in blue with a light brown carpet on the floor. This is the place where people pray. On two opposite walls, there was a pair of big pictures of the famous and emblematic image of Cheikh Amadu Bamb standing up. It was hung symmetrically, with the name of the Foundation written below. On the other two walls were identical

pictures of the mosque of Touba. Other than that, the room was very empty. In a corner was a group of seated men talking. We sat at the other corner.

When we were waiting, we talked with Khadim about what the Cheikh said. He gave a long introduction but he didn't have time to finish what he wanted to say. I did not record the beginning of his answers. Khadim said: "We have four branches. Every year we collect money for Touba, and we are here all Saturday collect money for Touba. We have the responsibility of building a big mosque in Touba, when we collect money, we put the money in a special account for Touba and in another one for helping people, because sometimes people need help."

Soon Cheikh Kebe came with another man, Moudo Bousso, the chairman of the foundation in Johannesburg who was introduced by Khadim. After that, Khadim left us and went to the other corner of the room.

Cheikh Kebe

This interview with the president of the foundation Cheikh A. Kebe was in English

TZ. What is the name of the Cheikh who came to visit you today?

Ch.K. Cheikh Awa Balla.

TZ. What is his connection with Cheikh Amadu Bamba?

CHK. He is his grandson.

TZ. Who was his father?

CHK. The second Khaliph.

TZ. Cheikh Falilou?

CH.K. Exactly, Cheikh Muhammad Falilou.

TZ. Could you please tell me about the mission of the Mourides in South Africa?

CHK. I'm going to give you a brief history. We can go as far as 1993, when the community of Mourides was established first in South Africa. We realized that as a community from Senegal establishing in South Africa... what we have from Senegal from the teaching of Cheikh Amadu Bamba, being Mourides, our grand, grand parents were Mourides, is that we are not new Mourides. We brought the message of Cheikh Amadu Bamba here and we decided to preserve the legacy of Cheikh Amadu Bamba by being a community called the Mourides of South Africa. Doing so, we managed first to unite the Senegalese of Johannesburg and all the Senegalese in the nine provinces. Every single city in South Africa has a member of the Mourides.

We decided together and with his [Cheikh Amadu Bamba] recommendation, which is Islam.-here is no discrepancy in the work of Cheikh Amadu Bamba. He starts with the word Islam, and finishes with the word of Islam. All the teaching is for us, the five commands of Islam and (...).

When we came to South Africa we decided to preserve his legacy meeting on Saturdays, reciting the holy Qur'an, reciting the *khasaides (qasidas)*, at the same time helping any needy member of the community, and at the same time trying to establish the teaching of Cheikh Amadu Bamba to South Africa. To do that we decided first, to buy properties where we can gather. We bought two in Johannesburg; so far, one is in Bez valley number 10 and the other 26. We managed to follow the call of Cheikh Salih Mbacké S. Murtada, who used to travel all over the world where the Mouride are, to follow the instructions spread in his message. At the same time, to tell the Mouride communities to establish Islamic institutions for our sons, for our children,

for our wives and for all the South African who are converted. So far, we have done that. We have stuck to the recommendation of the Cheikh.

In conjunction with the South African laws, because the community is growing, I am not talking only about our wives, and us we have South African people too, who are Mourides. In order to make the government, and in order to show to our brothers in Islam what we are doing, we have created one NPO (non profit organization), the registration (---) called Cheikh Ahmed Bamba Foundation. We have our registration, you can see here the number, which is given by the Department, and at the same time, we stick to the recommendation of Cheikh Amadu Bamba as well as to spread. We try to make the South African community, our brothers in Islam, and too... any other religions to know, to understand what we are doing, because wrong messages are sometimes sent to the people. In that, we have our registration number, we have our papers, and everything is done.

And we can write to any authority, we can talk to any authority in order to establish ourselves more in South Africa. So far so good, because...all the other religions, all our brothers in Islam will know what we are doing... letters, invitations... whenever we have a ceremony, whenever we have activities they will know what we are doing. Even our embassy now knows about our Foundation and we got members as time goes... to call all the members what we did, all coming from Johannesburg, from Kimberley, from all the others provinces, maybe 200 or 300 to spread the message of Cheikh Amadu Bamba. And this is today as you witness, this is a property bought in the name of the foundation for our brothers here in Cape Town. No more renting, no more disturbing, no more doing certain activities, and you are called by the neighbours to stop it or something like that. This is our own property, it is registered, and this is where we belong and where we hold to it. And

we plan to have an outdoor project. We have as well the project to establish a website, where by the teaching of the Cheikh, the work of the Cheikh, the mission of the Mourides....Just to answer to your question, it is two-fold the mission of the Mourides, whenever you are in Senegal or abroad, in any country in the world is: following the teaching of God, Allah, and working hard, being honest. This is the mission of the Mourides. Twofold: The teaching of Allah and His beloved Prophet Muhammad Rasullulah saw through the teaching of Cheikh Amadu Bamba, and work hard in an honest way. Whenever used, whenever you need to go with the Cheikh, you have to go as far as the project of the Cheikh is concerned. We have to contribute; there is no other way. A wrong message has spread to the people by, them saying there is being exploitation, it is being a sect; it is being people who don't follow Allah. When we came to follow Allah, we Mouride are the first. This is the reason that we call Cheikh Amadu Bamba, Khadim Rasool, the servant of God and Muhammad swa Khadim Rasool means that. When we talk about Islam, we think that the Mouride community, I'm not saying we came first, but we stick to the teaching of God, Allah. This is how we have established in South Africa, and this is how we are going to establish a website and to build an Islamic institution whereby, ourselves, our children, our wives, the converted South Africans, who are Mouride are being taught... The website includes two mission objectives

TZ. Do you have a web site,?

CHK. Is under construction

TZ. Do you have the name?

CHK. Yes, and we have the email address too.

TZ. How many communities do you have in South Africa?

CHK. In all of them. In P.E. we have a property where we gather, in Cape Town, we have one property now, and in Johannesburg we have two, in Durban and in all the cities of SA. We got members, we are scattered all over South Africa.

TZ. What is the relationship between the Mourides authorities and the South African authorities?

CHK. All right. This is a very good question, because the reason why we try to establish an NPO is most of the time because we were misunderstood by South African people. In this way, we were not recognised as an entity, or as a Muslim community, which has goals and objectives. The reason why we went through the procedures of applying to be a non profit organization, is that whatever we do distances us from a normal way of running an NPO, just an NPO that is grouping the Muslim, the Mouride community only work upon the recommendations of Cheikh Amadu Bamba. So the relationship now we have... once we have the certificate of registration as NPO, the South African authorities start to understand now the mission of the Mourides in SA here. It hasn't been long as you can see here, in April last year. It is our first year.

From 1993 to 2007 we were one community that just was doing their work in a non formal way, and the authorities, the relationship we have with the authorities is better now. They start to recognize, we are telling them our projects, we are telling them what we are doing, and at the same time we have some feedback from them. It is a pity I don't have my file here to show you all the feedbacks we have from the SA authorities. But it is plenty more to do it. (We hear a aloud voice through the speaker, SL telling them to low their voice)

TZ. I know that the mayor of P.E. is quite sympathetic toward this project.

CHK. That's right, how do you get this information?

TZ. Throughout Khadim

CHK, Ah, from Khadim. The reason why we got this certificate is because the mayor of P.E. went to Touba in Senegal. Touba is the city of Cheikh Amadu Bamba. She went there and she saw herself the Khaliph, Cheikh Salim Mbacké. They had a discussion about what the Mouride community is, and what she is doing. The Cheikh was very pleased with that and what all the praise... she got from the Cheikh she started to know us better, and when she came back she encouraged us to be known, in this way the authorities will know what we are doing, from this visit.

TZ. Is she a Muslim?

CHK. She is not a Muslim. She is a South African non-Muslim, but she was very impressed with our behaviour, the way we have conducted ourselves, and the way we set as an example for other foreigners in South Africa. From there as well, we had the procedure to follow it until we got it. In P.E. the son of Cheikh Falilou Mbacké who is flying now, he is going there on her invitation.

TZ. In which way do you think the Mouride can improve the development of Islam in Cape Town?

CHK. The best way, the way to improve Islam, not to improve actually but to spread the message of the Mourides, is to stick to the teaching of Cheikh Amadu Bamba, which is a summary, that how the true, fervent, good Muslim should behave. We are going to stick to doing it, because all his writings are here, and the Foundation and the contribution and our records and the writing of the Cheikh we are going to manage first, by getting all communities here, or Muslims, explaining them, writing letters, or calling them explaining them directly. We have other projects with renowned lecturers, when it comes to the teaching of Cheikh Amadu Bamba, from abroad in Senegal, to come here and to give some conferences here, inviting all the

brothers in Islam to get their communities to know, at the same time we will establish an Islamic institution as well. We will let the people know that there is no difference when it comes to Islam, when it comes to the recommendation.

TZ. Do you spread the message of Islam to non-Muslims also?

CHK. We do, because we don't take somebody with us who is not part of us, as long as you are a human being. If you are Mouride you have already the same objective, if you are not we respect you as you are, but at the same time we are telling you what we are doing, and our behaviour as well. How we conduct ourselves and the moral values that we got, most of the time is things, which influence that people. We have plenty of South Africans who are Mourides.

TZ. How many South African have become Mourides?

CHK. I can't give the figures but we have a lot, but we in the foundation, we are going to do a census as well. All the members we have got, as far as the converted South Africans are concerned, and maybe the next time we meet, we can give you the actual figures

TZ. How do you maintain the links between the Khaliph and Touba with the *dahira* of Cape Town? Today you have received the visit of Cheikh Awa Balla...

CHK The link is permanent because there is no difference from the Khaliph of 1928 and the Khaliph of 2008, there is no difference. The recommendations are the same, and we followers, Mourides, that is the only thing we do, that is the permanent link wherever we are ...to the teaching, stick to the teaching and wherever you are, work hard. That is all. The message of this link is permanent and very strong. How we maintain it in a permanent basis, and it is not differentiation. You can go today to New York, and the Mouride of New York are doing the same things that Mouride of

South Africa, because there is only one recommendation which is coming from Touba...

TZ. Could you tell me about the future projects of the new Khaliph Cheikh Muhammadu Lamine Bara Mbacké?

CHK. The new Khaliph became Khaliph in December of 2007, it is five months ago. What is very impressive, is the way the Mourides are behaving themselves is that the teaching is already there and whoever is the Khaliph hasn't got any projects, we people can call it projects, but it is that is that the continuation of what your (former Khaliphs) were doing, you understand? Right now, all know the importance of the *masjid*, the mosque in Touba and also all know when it comes as well to make the city of Touba how it should be looking like. Being the first city as far as every need of the human being or every need of the *talibé*...the Khaliph sees these projects and the contribution of all the followers of the entire world when it comes like now.

The day before yesterday I was following a programme in which the president of the Republic of Senegal, who is a Mouride, he is a follower as well, he has promised in the next five years to allocate two hundred billion in our currency in his budget for the holy city of Touba. When it comes to the roles, when it comes to the welfare of the population, when it come to supply of water, the electricity as well, when it comes to the well-being of the Mouride community there. It is among these projects and at the same time, those projects done or recommended by the Khaliph are done as well by giving as such from the followers. Whatever you can contribute, it is not forced, whatever you can contribute, if it is one cent it is one cent, if is one idea you have to bring it forward. We have all these projects and meantime it is a bit new, because most of the times before they reveal all the projects that they have, they have

to sit with all the brothers and decide, and now make a declaration of what are the projects, and may be in the near future before June or July we will hear all the projects that he has, because if it happens we have to inform to all the followers all over the world . . .

TZ. How do you think the Mourides of Cape Town and the Mourides of South Africa can contribute to the projects of Touba? I heard you are helping the mosque of Touba.

CHK. Actually is not a new mosque, it is in construction and the Mourides of Cape Town are contributing like any other Mourides when it comes to a recommendation. So when we started as a community in S.A. we get certain recommendation from the Cheikh, it didn't... we have there a lot of things we achieved there, and we are now constructing or building the second biggest *masjid* in Touba. The second biggest one, because the first biggest one is already in Touba, but ours is the second biggest, and so far we started the construction still under project.

TZ: How are the Mourides of Cape Town contributing?

CHK. It depends what they are doing and how they can contribute. As I told you before it is not done by force whatever you do, if we talk about money or if we talk about how, you can contribute. The Mourides of Cape Town, together with the Mourides of the other provinces, are putting what they have weekly or monthly. As far as they are concerned, they send money to Touba. This is the way the Mouride of Cape Town is... but they don't do it on their own because all are one. What we do is, whatever contribution we have, we do proper paper work, writing. I have contributed so much, you have contributed so much, the total is so much, and this is going to Touba. Already... we got people who are overseeing what we are doing in Touba. Inshallah, God willing, we might finish this mosque in the next three years.

TZ. In what way the community of Cape Town has changed since first people came here?

CHK. The community of Cape Town?

TZ. Yes

CHK. It has changed in a better way, I'm putting it this way, you have to behave in a certain way, when you came first time to a place, and people start to do questions, who these people are? Today when we talk of the influence of the Senegalese Mourides in Cape Town, just look first to their businesses. All started in stalls being hawkers, but today with the hard work they have done, recommended by Cheikh Amadu Bamba, they got shops, they have big businesses that are registered, and they are not making money, but they have very decent earning., This impresses a lot of population, when it comes to hard work, there you can see the moral principles of the Mouride community, which has been influencing the local community. Secondly, as well, if they see the Mouride community as an example, the local community get together and see in which way they can...not benefit, but how they share the vision. We got families here, we got wives, we got children, and at the same time, we are sharing the vision of the Mourides. So, we are influencing the local population when it comes to work, when it comes to moral values when it comes to family, when it comes to religion in a positive way.

TZ. What are the main problems you have here, you have faced here?

CHK. The main problem is, as you know, in South Africa, is first xenophobia, you know: "Is people coming from outside, stealing our jobs, they doing this..." I mean... there are even names they call, "they doing illegal stuff", but who ever knows the Mouride community, what they have, they are very proud of that. I'm telling you the teaching of the Cheikh is our pride, so whether you are in Senegal or

whether you are in a foreign country as long you stick to the principles taught by the Cheikh, the local communities should benefit from us. But it is a way we have been behaving as far as hard work is concerned and moral principles are concerned.

TZ. What about the relationship with the Muslim community, with the “Malay” for example?

CHK. OK, the relationship is that all we know we are Muslim, but we have done so far, because the perception...I am going to tell you something you have to know, the perception that the South African Muslim community got, when they see black skin from Africa is that they only started being Muslim yesterday, or you have been converted in a very recent past to be Muslim, which is not the case of the Mouride Community. I’m telling you...I was five years old... as far I can remember my fore, fore grand parents were Mourides, you understand. We are being born being Mourides; we were born in knowing the teaching of the Cheikh...and their perception now is going away a little bit, because the way they see us behaving: the way that they see us masterminding the *Kitab Al Qur’an al Kitab*, and the way that they see us masterminding the teaching of Cheikh Amadu Bamba make them think, that these people are not ordinary or new converted people that have started to study yesterday, you understand? What we are doing now sometimes open them up, because in the recent past they used to do that, they were five or six people who came to see us, this is what they called the *jamaa*, to teach us, and whatever they were saying to us, we knew better than them. They never realized we have *hafiz*, they never realized that someone like us memorised the Qur’an when he was already eleven twelve, thirteen years old. You understand? Now their perception is going away a little bit, we try to benefit from them, and they are benefiting from us. Sometimes when we have the situation like this, they were invited. If we have time of course, because we working

and only we get together in the Saturday afternoon, but depends as well if they give us intervention, if they want us to come... This relationship needs a lot, to be very honest, as long as the perception of them is there is not going to be I mean the way it should be, being one. Allah believes in unity. All must be one. You understand? So, in seeing what we are doing now the perception is changing, and we have got now as well being in line with the law of the land and then knowing what we are doing is not just from our own self but that is something which comes from Allah, which comes from Cheikh Amadu Bamba, Khadim Rasool than we are realised that, we are all one.. We may be from different school of thoughts, we can be Shafi'I, imam Malik, and another kind of school, sorry, of different kind of thought, but this doesn't mean that you are not Muslim, that you don't know the teaching of Allah. What we are doing now, the relationship is getting better but there is a lot of work to do

TZ. I would like to go to more worldly affairs, what is the main business of the Mourides in Cape Town?

CHK. OK Most of the time the main field is trade when it came to trading or selling of goods, but it is getting in such a way that now the business... importing arts, arts you know, African arts you know. Others in the importing clothing, others are involved in the fashion business but they are getting shops importing and buying from the local market as well as in selling them, do you understand? So that is the field we are more focused, you see. Of course, we got certain Senegalese or Mouride people who came to study; some came to work ... like me. I have been trading in Senegal and I came here to work and most of the time this is what they have got, but the main field of the business is trade, trading, selling goods and it so far in Cape Town they have established themselves. If you take a walk in Green Market you will know better than me what I m talking about. You see

TZ. Thank you very much.

Modou Bousso

TZ. I would like to talk with Moudo as well about Johannesburg..

MB. Yes.

TZ. Could you tell me about the community in Johannesburg? How many people you are? When did you established first time there

MB. We established since as he said in 1993 until 2008.It is now almost 13th years all together and we met every Saturday as he said. For today, the Cheikh gave us some instruction to come here because this is the purpose of all Muslim Senegalese of South Africa. Today we came to attend this meeting. The Cheikh, the chief of Senegal sent his brother to attend today. We talk to him in the phone and he was telling us to get together all of us, so this is why we are here today. Also, in Senegal the people who are here, we are more than 500 people contributing to this foundation, Cheikh Amadu Bamba foundation in Johannesburg. I am the chairman there.

TZ. Do you like to tell me more things about Johannesburg.

M. Is the same like he told you, Mouride, the meaning of Mourides, like he was saying is more than I can tell you ...What is happening in all the provinces of South Africa, if you go to Durban is like that, if you go to Johannesburg is the same. If you go to P.E. is the same .We are one

TZ. Thank you very much

Abdul Sarr

24 June 2008

I phoned the Senegalese embassy in Pretoria several times asking for numbers of Senegalese migrants or travellers coming to Cape Town, always they told me that the person who knew about this was not there and that they would phoned me back. Today I phoned them again and I spoke with a man who said that the Senegalese Embassy does not have any specific information on the Senegalese in Cape Town, but he gave me the telephone number of a man who was in charge of one Senegalese association. His name was Abdul Sarr. I phoned him and we arranged a meeting a bit later.

One hour later I met Abdul Sarr, a man a bit older than other Senegalese I interviewed. He did not wear West African clothes. He owns and works in a very nice leather bag shop in a new centre established at 26 Burg Street, close to Green Market Square. The bags mostly from Senegal are made from special leathers (snakeskin or crocodile). The shop does not have any picture which indicates any particular identity, except for a discrete sentence in Wolof on top of one shelf, saying *Darou Khoudus*, which means "House of the Most Holy."

The interview was conducted in English and I did not tape it because he did not like to be taped. I introduced myself and I explained my work. Because I contacted him through the Senegalese Embassy, he was quite willing to talk with me. He was quite clear on his answers

TZ. Does your association include the majority of the Senegalese in Cape Town?

AS. No this association doesn't include all the Senegalese of Cape Town. This association is established in Mowbray.

TZ. Is this a Mouride association?

AS. Yes. There isn't exist any association in Cape Town which includes all the Senegalese. There are different groups, the Tijani, the Mourides which have their different associations. There are not Senegalese Qadiri in Cape Town.

TZ. When did you first come to Cape Town?

A.S. I came in 1994. Long time ago

TZ. Why did you come to Cape Town?

AS. When you come, you don't know exactly if you are going to stay. You come to look.

TZ.. Why did you choose Cape Town and not Europe or the States?

A.S. Because it was more difficult to get a visa to go to Europe or USA.

TZ. Is it easy for Senegalese people to get a visa?

AS. Not anymore. It was easy before, but now it is more difficult. It started to be more difficult, more or less after 2002.

TZ. How was your beginning in Cape Town?

AS. In the beginning it was difficult because the language and also the little money I had to do business compared to what I have now.

TZ. Could you tell me about your organization?

AS. We have a *dahira* , which is part of a general *dahira* in South Africa. There are *dahiras* in Johannesburg, Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth and many other places in South Africa.

The Chairman is in Johannesburg and his name is Muhammad Seye, the name of the place is *Muhatiful Bushri*.

TZ. Do you meet often with people from other South African *dahiras*?

AS. We meet when we have something important to deal with. We called everybody and some representatives from the different *dahiras* met in Johannesburg.

TZ. When was it your last meeting?

A.S. The 18th of May 2008.

TZ. Which was the main subject of the meeting?

AS. We discussed how to work together in South Africa.

TZ. How many people are members of the *dahira* of Mowbray, Cape Town?

AS. Around 60. We meet every Saturday and Thursday.

TZ. Do you meet other Senegalese sometimes?

AS. Yes, for example when it is the *magal*, we invite other Senegalese to celebrate with us.

TZ. Is it difficult to have a shop like this one here in Cape Town?

AS. It is not difficult, the difficult thing is the rent. The rents are high.

TZ. Do you share the shop with somebody in your family?.

AS. No, with nobody..

TZ. Are there many Mourides who have shops like this?

AS. No, very few. Most of the people sell in open markets and they sell African masks, shoes, sunglasses, belts and bags.

TZ. Is there any Senegalese who is a wholesaler in Cape Town?

AS. No I don't know any.

TZ. Do you have difficulties bringing your bags from Senegal here?

AS. The difficulty is that you have to have permission in Senegal to take out and you have to have permission in South Africa to bring them in.

TZ. How do you register a shop as foreigner?

AS. You have to register your shop in SARS, “South African Revenue Service”, which is based in Long Street down, before Convention centre. People has to register shops and stalls before getting the visa.

TZ. Could you tell me the reason for the Mourides having two *dahiras* in Cape Town?

AS. There are not two *dahiras*. There is a *dahira* in Mowbray, but the other place is a Foundation centre. The people of the *dahira* of Mowbray came first to South Africa. We told them to leave the *dahira* because they wanted to transform the *dahira* into a Foundation. You don't want to introduce South African rules in the *dahira*. The *dahira* follows the traditional rules of the *dahiras*. If there is a Foundation you have to explain everything to the government. The Foundation has to follow the laws for the Foundation in South Africa, and we didn't want to follow their laws, but the traditional laws of the Mourides. Also, the *dahira* doesn't borrow money from the bank to survive. The foundation has borrowed money to buy the house. Every month they pay R10.000 to the banks, but the Mourides have to be free from these links which tie them. They have to be free to leave the place when they want to, but if you have a loan for ten or twenty years you are bound to the place. Maybe tomorrow you'll find a better business in Durban and you want to leave Cape Town, but if you have a loan it is going to be difficult.

I didn't have any problems with South African society. We never asked for any help from anybody, nor from the bank. We got the money from ourselves. The Cheikh told us to do it this way and God will help you.

TZ. What are the differences between the Tijani and the Mourides?

AS. Both the Mourides and the Tijani are Muslims and Senegalese, but there are differences:

- First, we don't have the same Cheikhs.

- The way the Mouride work for their Cheikh is their duty.

- The Mourides obey the Cheikhs without questioning his authority. If the Cheikh say yes is yes, if the Cheikh says no is no.

- The Mouride and the Tijani recite different *qasidas* and *wirds*

TZ. Are you married?

AS. Yes. I am married to a South African woman. I've been married for seven years and I have a son with her.

TZ. Would you like to educate your son here?

AS. I would like to take my son to Senegal, if my wife agrees with it.

TZ. How often do you travel to Senegal?

AS. Once a year..

TZ. How are your relationships with South Africans?

AS. There is a South African coloured boy who went to learn Qur'an to Senegal and came back after 7 years of learning in Senegal. There is another Capetonian studying in Senegal too. There are some people from South Africa with us. Most of the women the Mourides have married here have converted to Islam. My wife was Christian. She agreed to be Muslim and later Mouride, because you have to be Muslim before you can be Mouride. South Africa is different in everything. It has to be one by one. It takes time to teach people. My wife has the name of the mother of Cheikh Amadu Bamba but she doesn't know very much about her.

TZ. Did you have any xenophobic problems in Cape Town?

AS. The Mourides haven't had any problems.

TZ. What do you think is the reason for this?

AS. It is the *baraka* of the Cheikh, which protects us, and also we don't live in the townships, we live in different areas. I live in Mowbray.

TZ. Do you have any contact with the camp of refugees or are you helping them now?

AS. No

TZ. What are the good things for you in South Africa?

A. The good things? (He smiles). Everywhere you go here, United States, Senegal you find sins. You have to control yourself. You go to work, you go home, and you don't look around, you have to respect people here and then they will respect you. Since I came to South Africa, I never had any problem: This is my luck. I don't have problems because I don't go to the places, which can give you problems. You have to be discrete with your life...some ladies may follow you if they think you have a nice house or good clothes...it is dangerous to show off.

TZ. Do you feel at home in South Africa?

AS. I feel at home here, but South Africa needs transformation because they don't know other parts of the world and they think they are better.

TZ. In which way can you help the South Africans?

AS. The first thing is to share with them. The things you have, you share with them. When South Africans know we have celebrations in the *dahira*, they come and they are happy participating in the celebrations.

Another thing we are teaching them is the importance of marriage. My wife, before I married her, she wanted to be out all the time, she wanted to be everywhere, but now she is quiet and happy and she wants to be at home.

TZ. When you have big celebrations in the *dahira*, do the women meet together?

AS. Sometimes they meet together when there is a newborn. Before we used to teach them, but now they don't go to the *dahira*.

TZ. Why?

AS. (He laughs) Because they are very noisy.

TZ. Do the women work in the markets?

AS. No, some work in restaurants, there is one who works in a security company, and another in the police.

There is a pause and silence and Abdul Sarr continues talking:

“Mourides is working hard, to follow the way of Allah, and to obey the Cheikh. It is important to have clean heart. God is for everybody. Not be jealous. You kill yourself for nothing. Everything happens by Allah, alhamdulillah. Life sometimes is good, alhamdulillah; sometimes is bad, alhamdulillah.

The money you gain is not only for you, it is for the people to learn Qur'an, for the people in need... You must give and forgive... that is. I myself always want to share my things with the people.”

TZ. Thank you very much

Second interview with Abdul Sarr.

19-July-2008

I went to visit Abdul Sarr who is the oldest Mouride I have interviewed. He is not very happy to see me and he says he doesn't want to speak more about the *dahira* that the things he told me are between him and me.

I tried to let him speak a bit more about the origin of the Mourides in Cape Town. He said that twenty two Senegalese arrived to South Africa in 1994. Among them there were four Tijanis. Then five came to Cape Town and they lived together in Down Town Lodge for around seven months. From there they moved to an hotel in Sea Point where they stayed around a year and then they moved to another place in Sea Point. From there, they moved to Mowbray where they had the *dahira* first at 22 Station Road and then in Struben Road, where they have the *dahira* now. He thinks that the situation since they came has changed for the better. When they came, they couldn't work in the street and now they can. Now they are establishing shops. He thinks if there are economic problems in Cape Town it is because there is a global crisis, it is not only happening in South Africa. He says that now it is more difficult to get a visa for Senegalese people in Europe than in South Africa.

I asked him why the Senegalese don't wear boubous in Cape Town. He said they don't wear them outside but they do wear them at home. He says that this is probably because of the weather and other things about something about being more convenient that I don't understand. I can't continue the conversation with him, because he closes his mind when I asked about the *dahira* and refused to keep talking to me any longer.

The centre, which is a jewellery centre, has a small jewellery shop called Touba. Nobody was there.

Short interview with a Senegalese woman

19 July 2008

I went to visit the Pan African Market in Long Street, which is a big house full of objects and materials coming from different parts of Africa. There are wholesalers, mainly from Cameroon, who provide the retailers with goods. I started to speak with a man who turned out to be a Senegalese and he said: "Here they are the Cameroonians who are the wholesalers and we the Senegalese are the retailers, we enable the wholesalers to live" I was looking for a Senegalese woman, who is one of the few Senegalese women living in Cape Town. I found her and I introduced myself and explained my work. She didn't want me to name her in my essay. I agreed with that and we continued the conversation. She is from Dakar and wears westernised clothes. She came here to be with her husband in 2000. Her husband was here before. She has two children, one six year old and other three years old. She came here to be with her husband and to help him. She joined her husband on trading African arts.

She thought that South Africa is a good country not like Zimbabwe. She and her husband came here to work. Some times they pay for a container to bring things from other places of Africa. After a while, the husband called her and she was away from a long time . When she came back, she told me her husband didn't want her to continue the conversation with me.

There was another Senegalese with her who has came to stay for two month, with her husband, who work in Green Market Square.

Muhammad Shafick Fakier

Saturday, 27 July 2008

It was not a formal interview, but a conversation my husband and I had with Muhammad Shafick, his wife and their son during the lunch.

Shafick is a Capetonian, who lives in Athlone with his family. He spent several years in Cape Town attending different sessions of *dhikr* with the Naqshbaniyya tariqa, Qadidriyya, Allawiyya, Chistiyya looking for spiritual guidance. In 1997 a friend of his, Fakhruddin, introduced him to the Mourides. He started to attend the Mowbray *dahira* where he felt very welcome in a group with people of a different skin colour. From the beginning he was attracted to the *dhikr* and the people and he became a member of the tariqa. His son went to the school of Imam Bouso in Touba in 2002, where he learnt to recite the Qur'an. Now he is back in Cape Town, although he is very attached to Touba, and depends on the Khaliph's instructions. He has also learnt Wolof, but mainly, he has absorbed the Mouride way of behaving and thinking. He said: "Every day was an adventure there, because being a South African I had different habits. In Touba I had to endure the cold at night, sleeping on the floor, different and scarce of food, and endless learning and writing with little rest and no relaxing. I could overcome it and the learning was fruitful." Imam Bouso, a follower of the Khaliph, is himself a Cheikh and several people have given him *bayat*. Shafick and his wife went to visit him and stayed in his house.

I asked him about what the contribution of the Mourides to South Africa can be. He said that in his opinion they bring balance and they can help to stabilize a society shattered by xenophobic incidents. The Senegalese Mourides deal with people from different backgrounds and races, they trade everywhere they make opportunities to do it. They have even gone to the West Coast further than Springbok, and they have established their stall posts in an area dominated by strong white Afrikaner Christians, who are heavy drinkers. Where, Muhammad Shafick said, “we (Capetonian Muslims) are afraid to go.” The Mourides have established their stalls posts there without fear and they deal with people without problems, because they are straight and they mingle with all races. Shafick says: “The Mourides don’t preach, they behave. This is the reason that they are respected, because their good behaviour.”

The Mourides in Cape Town live close to their working places (Maitland, Claremont, downtown, Wynberg, Mowbray).

He said that the *dahira* of Mowbray is organised with a chairman, a treasurer, a cook and a person in charge to receive the guests. He said they collect money every week, and the majority of the money goes to Touba. The people of South Africa have received from the Khaliph the command to build another mosque in Touba based in their only resources. Shafick said that in following this command there is an immense spiritual reward. Other people from their tariqa have offered to support them, but the *talibés* from South Africa have declined it, they know that they have to stick to the command of the Khaliph. Only the *talibés* of South Africa are allowed to contribute to the building of the mosque. The building of the mosque has started and it is half way built.

They often receive Cheiks from Touba, but there is not a fix pattern. When the Cheiks feel the moment is right, they travel and come to visit their people in South

Africa. This week the son of one of the companions of Cheikh Cerno, was in Cape Town

Shafick tried to explain to me why I sometimes find certain difficulties when talking with the Mourides. He said that, first of all, it is the language; their language is the Wolof and they don't communicate well in English. Second, it is complicated for them to address somebody with different cultural habits. They have a certain way of addressing people. There is a protocol and if you do not know it the communication may be less fluid. Third, being me a female who addresses them directly, can add another obstacle to the conversation.

Several times along the conversation Shafick insisted that the Mourides do not preach normally, their better preaching is their behaviour, and it is that behaviour that attracts the people to them.

I asked about the opportunities South Africa offers to the Mourides now and in the future.

He said that he has seen the Mouride group growing in Cape Town, because they see good opportunities to develop their business here. South Africa is a rich country, Cape Town is a golden place compared to Senegal which is a poor country. The first Mourides paved the way for the other *talibés* who started to come more and more.

He showed me pictures of Touba and they spoke of the qualities of Imam Bousso, and also about *Hizbut Tarkhiya*. This organization is an organization within the Mourides. Muhammad Shafick defined them as the working force of the Mourides. This group works very close to the Khaliph and execute their orders immediately. In great events, like the *magal*, they are the main organizers. It is a dynamic growing force among the Mourides.

Second interview 6 August 2008.

I met Muhammad Shafick with his wife and his son again . I asked if it was possible to type the interview. His wife Hafsa said that she did not like to be recorded.

Personal details.

His name is Muhammad Shafick Fakier. He has matric and he did a three year course in photography. He worked in this field for a while, but left it because he was obliged to do a job he did not like to do (pornography...). Afterwards, he did different courses and small jobs like cabinet making. He said that he is still looking for a “hallal” job, which is convenient for him.

I asked him if he was involved in the struggle against the Apartheid. He said: “ Yes, I participated in marches, protesting in the streets in the 80s. I neither was in the front line, nor I was part of a organization, but protesting in the streets.”

TZ. You said in the last conversation that you met the Mourides through Fakhrudin, how was it?

MS. I knew him through a Cheikh of Medina from the Naqshabandiyya. We met in an spiritual meeting in the *karamat* of Robben Island. After, he introduced me to the Mourides. I attended to the *dahira* of Mowbray in 1997, when the *dahira* was in Station road. It was a night of *dhikr*. A Cheikh from the Mbacke family had came from Senegal. I was captivated by them. To be in the middle of the lovers of Allah, with Black African people from other country was something unique. They were from outside the borders and they behave in a different way that Black people are often portrayed among us. They captivated me. I was accepted from the beginning. They didn't try to indoctrinate me, and to enforce any idea on me, only showed

hospitality to me. At this point I didn't have personal relationship with the Cheikh., only I was a bit closer with some Mourides that gave some information to me. They behave in the same way than when an adult gives food to a child, only gives him what is necessary, when the child grows also their needs grow and he receive more food. It was like that with me.

TZ. When did you go first time to Touba?

MS. I was there from 2003 December to January 2004. It was an individual journey to connect with the Cheikh.

TZ. Could you tell me your understanding of the *ngidjel*?

MS. It is a request made by the Khaliph as the spiritual guide to fulfil his wishes.

I was looking for 7 years for spiritual guidance, I was inspired for different tariqas, but above all by the Mourides and I committed to them.

TZ. How do your neighbours found that your son went to learn Qur'an to Senegal?

MSF. They find remarkable and at the same time people think, why he was sent to other place of Africa if he could study here.

TZ. What they say when they see him after 6 years in Touba?.

MS. They recognize something, but they don't voice it, because if they would do it they would reflect on their reality of their children. You know in Cape Town there is many drugs and other bad things among young people.

TZ. There are any other Capetonians among the Mourides?

MS. There is another one from Philipi who has a child in Touba too.

(Muhamad Wafeeq, the son of Shafick, has a close relationship with the Imam of Touba Imam Bousso).

Shafick said: "I had relationship with the previous Khaliph Cheikh Saliou. He was my Cheikh and I had with him a unique experience."

TZ. Does the Khaliph try to solve the division of the *talibés* in South Africa?

MS. No clear answer

TZ. How many people did you meet in the *magal*?

MS. We were around two hundred (his wife adds that may be more, counting women and children and people who came and go all the time), yes may be approximately three hundred.

TZ. Could you tell me if there is a pattern for the Mourides coming to South Africa?

MS. There are different avenues to come to South Africa, could be different reasons to come here. The Mourides Senegalese can explain better this. If you speak with several of them you can deduce a pattern of behaviour.

TZ. Talking about their business, where are the main places for the Mourides to trade?

MS. They trade in many places, in downtown, Wynberg, in Muizenberg., and now several of them own proper shops. They are very resourceful they move all the time looking for better opportunities they expand out of the borders of came town in rural areas. There are others who do other jobs like tailoring, mainly in their houses.

TZ. Could you tell about the relationship between the Mourides and the Muslim of Cape Town?

MS. There is a lot of ignorance within the Muslim in Cape Town on Islam out of the borders. There is a level of alienation about Senegalese, Malawian, Somali Muslim, but Islam encompasses everything and also these African Muslims are an

example of it. This ignorance and separation is mainly a heritage of the apartheid regime, which kept people divided.

TZ. You said in the previous conversation that at the beginning the Senegalese married South African women without been aware of their very different background (non-Muslim, drinker, different pattern of behaviour).

MS. Yes, after a while they realised how difficult it was their mutual understanding. Now, besides that some of them have successful marriages with women who became Muslim, the Mourides are more careful, marrying South African women and try to marry Senegalese women.

TZ. Do you think the Mourides are making home of Cape Town?

MS. I don't think so. There are better material opportunities here, but the spiritual source and centre is in Touba and they want to be there.

TZ . Do the Mourides have had xenophobic incidents?.

MS. Oh yes, but they don't like to look at it or to speak much about, they keep going looking further.

TZ. In which ways the Mourides can be beneficial for Capetonians?

MS. There is a need for Capetonians. If they are exposed to Mouridism it will flourish, because there are spiritual needs in the community. The Blacks, they haven't had a good exposition to Islam. I think that there is important to expose them to Islam in the way Imam Haroom did.

TZ. Thank you very much.

Tijaniz Interviews

Abdulahi Thiam

First interview. 29 December 2007

The first time I met A. Thiam was in the *Tijanizawiya* on Bonteheuwel one Friday 3 weeks ago. After that, I phoned him on the 29 December and we easily made an appointment the same day. We met in town at the Great Parade.

He came quickly and we went to the garden to have the interview and sat on a bench. He is a young man wearing a green Senegalese bubu. He is kind, intelligent, and straightforward in his answers.

I didn't record him. I only took notes from his answers.

He came to Cape Town 10 years ago and 7 years ago, he married a South African woman. He has 2 children with her. He lives in Long Street and works in Green Market Square.

He goes to the *Jumu'a* mosque on Friday. He attends the *Jumu'a* mosque, because it is the closest to his house. He goes from work in Green Market Square, makes wudu at home, and goes to the *Jumu'a* mosque to pray. He likes it because they are malikis, and he feels at home there. The first time he was there with other Senegalese people and they saw a white imam, his friends said: Are we going to pray behind a white imam? (They had seen Indian or Arab imams, but it was the first time

they had seen a white imam), and he said, “everybody is praying behind him, lets do the same.” He knew cheikh Ali Laraki, a Moroccan who acted as imam for a while, and every Friday when he was there, he greeted him and spoke to him.

When they (the Tijani) came 10 years ago there were no Black Muslims in the centre of Cape Town, and when they first met Indian or Malay Muslims they didn’t understand that they were born Muslims from Muslim families in Senegal. They used to ask the Senegalese: When did you convert to Islam? .

He said that the 10 years of the post-apartheid era in Cape Town had brought more black people to Islam than the 300 years before. They (the Tijani) try to extend Islam and to explain to people the benefits of being Muslims. He was telling a man from “Pick and Pay” the benefit that Islam would bring to SA. In relation to AIDS if people would become Muslims (No intercourse out of marriage, no alcohol etc.) Also, he said that he tried to explain to this man that to be a Muslim is not to be a beggar asking for *sadaka*. Among the Muslims are rich and poor.

They (Tijanis) have connections with other African Black Muslims such as Somalis or people from Tanzania, Mourides from Cheikh Amadu Bamba and other Tijanis.

I asked him how the South African Malays or Indians accepted them.

At the beginning, they didn’t accept blacks leading the prayer or giving the *adhan*, but now there is a change in their mentality and they are accepting the black-leading the prayer. Some times Abulahi is the imam and they follow him.

Muslim South Africans, who have become closer to their *tariqa*, travel to Senegal to Medina Bay, the centre of their *tariqa*, where their *Cheikh* lives. Some of them stay some weeks or months or several years, it depends. They have to pay for the ticket to Senegal, and there the Cheikh takes care of the people. Among the Tijani in Cape Town they collect money sometimes to help somebody who doesn’t have the means to travel. Also, they collect money each year to send four or six South African children to study there.

The Tijani are expanding Islam and the *tariqa*. When they arrived in Guguletu 10 years ago, there were no mosques there, only a few individual Muslims and families. Now there are two mosques. The Tijanis built one of them in 2002. Also, they have created several *zawiyas*, in Cravenby B, Bontheville, Mitchells Plain, Strandfontein village and Umfuleni. On the important days like the *mawlud*, 300 people meet in their mosque.

When they arrived in Guguletu, they settled in section three, which was considered the most dangerous part of the area. At the beginning, they experienced problems of xenophobia from the neighbourhood. But now this has changed, because at the beginning they didn't know each other. the Tijani feared people from Guguletu, but then they realised that most of their fear was based in the propaganda of the media and they learned to accept people. The people of Guguletu respect them because of the love the Tijanis have developed towards them.

Now their people have had their cars broken into in Hout Bay or in Wynberg, but no longer in Guguletu.

I asked him about his origins. He said he was originally Fulani but he speaks Wolof.

I asked him about the Mourides. He explained that the Mourides now have 2 *dahiras*, in Mowbray and in Kensington. They have a good relationship with everybody. When a Senegalese dies everybody from the Senegalese community of Cape Town collect money to send the body to be buried in Senegal.

I asked about his opinion of the Mourides of Cheikh Amadu Bamba. He says that they are good people who work hard and are strong believers. In general they socialise well when they receive their cheikhs, but they don't expand the *tariqa* among the locals. They have only four or five South African Mourides. They don't bring women to the mosques, while the Tijani do.

I ask his opinion on the Bay Fall. He says if somebody stops making *salat*, he is not Muslim.

I asked for his reasons of coming to South Africa.

He says. " I finished school, and I wanted to go out of Senegal. I came to South Africa to gain money and I choose South Africa because was easier to go to than to Europe or to America. They (the Tijani) sell African art, clothes, and Chinese stuff.

Second interview. 29 June 2008

After the meeting with Ousmane Kane I continued my conversation with Abdulahi. I did not tape it ..

TZ. .I would like to know about the Senegalese Association in Cape Town. Where do you have your meeting place?.

AT. For the moment we don't have a place. We have our assemblies in Salt River Hall.

TZ. How many members do you have?

AT. We are around 350 members from the WesternCape province (Strand, Muizenberg Wynberg etc)

TZ. What is the affiliation of its members?

AT. There are Tijjanis, Mourides, some Muslims not attached to any tariqa and also there are amore or les four Christians.

TZ. Who is the president of the Association?

AT. The President of the Association is a member of the Tijaniyya and the treasurer is a member of the Tijaniyya, who is now in Senegal . Meanwhile the Vice-president, a Tijani too, has the responsibility for the association.. The secretary, Dawda Cisse, is a Mouride .

TZ. How do you choose them?

AT.. We vote for them without thinking if they are Tijjanis or Mourides, but thinking about which people have the qualities to do the job.

TZ.- When and why did this association start?

AT. This association started in 2005 to pursue the goal of helping Senegalese people. (business, helping of repatriation, or helping sick people)

TZ. What kind of changes have happened over these years?

AT. The main change is that the association has grown in number and that they collect more money to help people. Each member gives 20 rand every week.

TZ. How often do you meet?

A.T. The executive committee meet every week. The members have an assembly every two months.

TZ. How often do you elect the President?

AT. Every second year. The association follows South African laws.

TZ Which the dominant group with the most members within the association?

AT. We can say that the Mourides are the majority there. Although not all the Mourides are there, many people from the Mowbray *dahira* are not members of the foundation. The Tijjanis have a better relationship with the Association. (Abdulahi also said that they have relations with both groups of Mourides, with the people of Mowbray and with the people of the Foundation).

TZ. I would like to go to another subject. What is the procedure to get a stall in Green Market Square?

AT. Before there was a committee led by a man from Libano called Bar Shaban, who hired the space from the council and then he rented it to the people. He had a list and when somebody wanted to leave his stall somebody on the list could buy from him. But from 2007 until now the city council have taken over, and if you want to have a stall you register on a council list until somebody leaves a stall free, so now you don't buy your place.

TZ. Has there been any advantage since the city council took over?

AT. Yes, before the owner of the stall had to pay 500 rand a week and now we pay the city council 400 rand a month.

TZ. Is this the same system for all the markets in Cape Town?

AT. Yes, on the Parade, in Muizenberg, Wynberg, Claremont, Belville.

TZ. Do the Mourides have proper shops in different parts of Cape Town?

AT. They have shops in Wynberg, Claremont, down town in Cape Town...

TZ. Coming back to the Mowbray *dahira* and the relationship with the Mouride Foundation, What do you think are the reasons for their split?

AT. It is difficult to say, because when you speak with the people of Mowbray they sound right, and when you speak with the people from the Foundation they sound right too. It looks as if the origin of the conflict is linked to the use of money, because the Drawane, the leader of the *dahira*, has the responsibility for the money, and he takes the money and gives it to Touba. Nobody knows how much he gets and how this is spent. It is not transparent. The members of the *dahira* wanted to know the destination of their donations, and also they wanted part of the money to be directed to the needs of the community of Mourides in Cape Town, because if they have needs they don't receive any help from the *dahira*.

TZ. Who is the cheikh the *dahira* depends on?

AT. The *dahira* as well as the Foundation depend on the Khaliph.

TZ, Does the Khaliph, or the Cheikhs connected with Cape Town try to sort out this problem among the Mourides in Cape Town?

AT. Not really. When the shaykhs come, they speak in general terms or make comments on a *hadith* connected with the importance of the Muslims being united, but they don't directly address the problem of lack of unity by offering concrete solutions.

TZ. Why?

AT. Now when the cheikhs come, they receive money from both organizations. Their collection has increased.. Before the foundation some Mourides didn't give money in Mowbray. And now they give money to the Foundation.

TZ. Is all South Africa divided like this?

AT. Yes all the country is divided between the Foundation members and the members of the *dahira* in Mowbray.

TZ. How do you get a visa to stay here?

AT. Before for the Senegalese it was very easy. You got your visa free at the airport and you could stay in the country, but after 1998 the situation became more difficult and you have to get your visa in Senegal. For this reason one way the Senegalese found to stay in the country was to marry a local woman. This has produced an increase in marriage between Senegalese and local women, some of them false and some others are true marriages. It is hard to tell how many people have true marriages.

TZ. Do you know any Senegalese women living in Cape Town?

A.T There are very few. I know only four: one who is married to a South African. There is one who works in the Pan African market, her name is Absa and she is a Mouride..

TZ. Thank you very much

Al-Hajj Cheikh Tidiane Gueye

27 March 2008

Abdulahi Thiam introduced me to him a month ago. He works with Abulahi in the same stand beside the stand of Khadim Niang. He accepted the interview without hesitation. He is a tall young smiling man. I interviewed him in his stand in French. The market was very quiet on that day. The holidays have finished and there were less tourists than a week before.

TZ. What is your name?

CHT. My name is cheikh Tidiane Gueye.

TZ. Could you tell me where do you live?

CHT. I live with the big brother Abdul ass

TZ. Here in Cape Town?

CHT. First time in Cape Town I lived in Guguletu in the *zawiya* Cheikh al Islam Cheikh Hajj al-Hassan Cissé. Now I live with my big brother Abdulla., who now is in Senegal

TZ. Abdullahi?

CHT. He is my brother.

TZ. Are you married?

Ch.T. I was married, but now I'm divorced. I have a son in Senegal.

TZ Where were you born?.

CHT. In Senegal, in Dakar

TZ. How long have you been in Dakar?

CHT. I grew up there. I was at primary school there. Then I went to Gambia.

TZ. When was that?

CHT. From 1987 to 1992. I went back again to Senegal. I was there until 1996. I left Senegal to go to Egypt

TZ. What did you do in Egypt?

CHT. I studied there in the University of Al TZhar. I was there from 1996 to 2005. In 2002 I went back to Senegal for holidays, and in 2003 I went to Egypt to

continue my studies until 2005. In 2005 I came back to Senegal, to stay. I was in Senegal from 2005 to 2006. I left Senegal to come to South Africa in 2007.

TZ. Did you go to a French school in Dakar?

CHT. Yes, I went to a French primary school there. After I failed to get my certificate, my aunt sent me to a Qur'an school in Gambia.

TZ. Who was your teacher there?

CHT. His name was Abdulahi Ismail Bah. He is in Gambia. He was the imam, and at the same time he was the gentleman in charge of the institution.

TZ. What was the name of the institution?

CHT.. The translation is, "The garden of Islam." It was founded by Cheikh Mohammad NTZeer Niasse, who was the son of Cheikh ISrahim Niasse in Kaolack. Cheikh ISrahim Niasse founded the *dahiras* throughout Senegal and Gambia. The biggest *dahira* was in Gambia, it was called Nama Kumku..Rawda al .Qurania, "The garden for children in Islam."

TZ. Why did you choose to come to Cape Town?

CHT. Why? I can explain to you that when I was in Dakar I had a close friend. We have been together since our childhood. He got a visa for me to come to South Africa. He has a brother who lives in Cape Town, and they had an small shop which sold "boubous" prêt a porter. After I left Dakar I arrived in Johannesburg, I remained there only four days and I left to go to Cape Town. I was working in this shop, which was in Mitchells Plain. We sold it. Now I'm looking for a job that I haven't found yet.

TZ. Was it your first job as a trader? Because before you had been studying most of the time...

CHT. I can say that it was my second time. When I was in Egypt at the time of the pilgrimage we went to South Arabia bringing merchandise to sell there. We used to do this at the time of the pilgrimage as well as in the month of Ramadan.

TZ. Have you been on *hajj*?

CHT. I have been on *hajj* twice, and I did *umra* eight times. From 1997 until 2002 I travelled there in the month of Ramadan doing *umra* at the same time. And I went on *hajj* twice.

TZ. When you came here you received help because you got a job in a shop. Were the Tijani the people who helped you?

CHT. The people who helped me are from a family close to my family, nearly the same family, because the two families know each other, we are... we have a close relationship. Their elder brother and I, were together in Gambia. We grew up together this is the reason... we are nearly the same family. They live in Johannesburg now.

TZ. I would like to know about your relationship with South African society. Have you noticed racist behaviour towards you in this society?

CHT. Because I travelled throughout Africa, nearly everywhere there is racism...right, here in South Africa it is true that there is racism, but I haven't found a lot, because me I don't have the habit of talking with anybody. When I live each morning, I live Guguletu to go...I don't speak with anybody, because I have my rosary all the time along my journey, I don't have the habit to talk with people. After when I arrive at the shop I take care of the clients, and in the end I don't speak a lot with the South Africans, except with the people who work with me. There were two girls who worked with me I tried to ask them about South African society and so on and so forth, but I don't have the custom of talking with South Africans.

TZ. But for example, do you have any relations with "Malays", with Muslim "Malays"? What do you think of them?

CHT. Alhamdulillah.. We have...there in Guguletu at the *zawiya* of cheikh Hassan Cisse, there are a lot of people of these kind who go there. They are the Kalaki who go, even the Xhosa go. We pray and we do *dhikr* together. Right, they love us and also we find we are the same family, we pray together, we do *dhikr* together, we eat together, we drink together, we have fun together. I find we are the same family, there are not any problems.

TZ. And with the Indians?.

CHT. Yes, with the Indians I know a lot of Indians. They are good, they are very good.. There are no problems with them..

TZ. What are your relations with the other Africans in Cape Town?

CHT. They are good.

(We interrupt the conversation because a policeman came to look at us. I explain to him what we are doing, and C. Tijani says not to pay attention to him and to continue the interview)

TZ. Because here there are different African people, South African African and Africans who came from other African places. There are people who are Muslims and others who are not.

CHT. Yeah. Where I was, I had friends who came from Cameroon, from Ivory Coast...., we were so happy together, We had a lot of fun together, as we were from the same family. The problem is that all of us are foreigners here, and we behave as one family there are no differences among us it doesn't matter if you are Senegalese or Cameroonian, no, we have fun together, sometimes we eat together. It was very good. There were some Muslims and some non Muslims. But when you have fun together you don't talk about your religion. It is not because I'm Muslim I speak only with Muslims. They also speak with everybody. The important fact was that we were like one family it was tremendous, it was tremendous.

TZ. But with South African Africans, how is the relationship? Because I heard certain things...

CHT. Yes I've also heard certain things myself, but I only speak about the things I've seen. It is truly wonderful. At the moment in Guguletu there is a South African there, called Umar, he became Muslim, sometimes we sleep together in the same room, we eat together, there are not any problems. Even I leave my luggage with him. He carries my luggage now, no problems. They are kind, they are truly kind.

TZ. What is the difference that exists between the Mourides and the Tijanis here in South Africa?

CHT. I don't find any ... There are differences between the Mourides and the Tijani, but I would say that there are not differences, because the T. and the M. are the same family but we carry different titles. The T. is a way to Allah, and the M. is a way to Allah. In relation to that ,each group has its way of behaving, of singing and of reading , a way to read... But if I sum it up I would say that Mouridism and Tijanism are both a path to go to Allah. But here there is the Mouride group and the Tijani group, and because I'm quite new here, I've just arrived here, I can't tell things I don't know well, because I'm new here. I haven't even been here for a year and from the things people say... the Mouride are doing good work, I heard they have even bought a house for the "Foundation....", the Tijani have also bought a house to have a place to meet once a month, you know, Because I'm newly arrived here ,I don't know everything

TZ. All right. When you were learning Qur'an, did you become hafiz?

CHT. I'm not *hafiz*, but alhamdulillah I can... on the Quran.

TZ. Do you teach it in your community?

CHT. Actually no. I have a Senegalese friend who lives here with his wife and three children, who has asked me to teach his children every Sunday.

TZ. What is your project here?

CHT. My project here is... I'm looking for a job to help myself and to help my family. My father died, but my mother is alive. (his telephone rang) My goal here is to find a job for me and to help my mom, my son and my family. Because my family helped me to come here. When I got my visa my brothers helped me giving me money to get the visa. If I earn something I share with them, because they helped me to buy the plane ticket to come here. If I get money, inshallah I will send it there for my mom, my brothers, my sisters, my son, inshallah.

TZ. Does your mother live in Dakar?

CHT. Yes she lives in Dakar.

TZ. Is your mother of Wolof origin?

CHT. Yes she is Wolof.

TZ. Was your father of Peul origin?

CHT. No, he was Wolof. The problem is that my mother was from Peul origin, she was Tokolor, her parents came from Saint Louis, but she is Wolof, she speaks Wolof.

CHT. There is a Tijani man who knows a lot. This man is called Fakhruddin. He lives here in Cape Town he is a Tijani, an student of Cheikh Hassan Cisse, the grand son of Cheikh. ISrahim Cisse.

TZ. Where does Cheikh Hassan Cissé live ?

CHT. He lives in Senegal in Kaolack-Medina Bay. He some times comes here. Probably he will come here soon. He has his *zawiya* in Guguletu where he has a lot of talises, a lot of students. Fakhruddin is one of his first *talibés* here. The things I can say to you are, some times I am not completely sure about if he was one of his first *talibés*, but he ...has a lot of translations and books that Cheikh. Ibrahim Niasse wrote. Some times he gives us translation in English and some times we find translations in Arabic. I'm going to do whatever is possible to get his telephone to give to you and then you can try to contact him and ask him what is going on with the Tijani tariqa. He will explain to you better than me, because he speaks very well English at the same time that he speaks Arabic, inshallah.

TZ. How many days do you meet in Guguletu?

CHT. We meet every month the first Sunday. Each month, the first Sunday of the month we meet in Guguletu. Every Friday we do *dhikr* Jum'a until the time of mahgreb in Guguletu..

TZ. Thank you for this interview.

Ibrahim Sarr

Saturday, 17 May 2008

He is a Tijani that has a post in the free open market in front of the city council in Cape Town. He sells ladies' bags, travelling bags, suitcases and wallet. He is a man between 35 and 45 years old with a beard and he wears a white cap. At the beginning of the conversation he defined himself as a Gambian but later, he went on to say that he is a Senegalese born in Kaolack (Saloom), but later their parents moved to Gambia.

TZ. When did you come to S. Africa?

IS. 12 years ago.

TZ. Did you travel to other places before coming to CT?

IS. Yes, I travelled throughout different African countries: Gambia, Nigeria, Congo, Cameroon and Mali.

TZ Where do you live in Cape Town?

IS. In Landsowne

TZ. Which is your family language?

IS. Wolof

TZ. Why did you came to South Africa?

IS. In the apartheid times in South Africa we supported people who fight the apartheid, even when Abou Diouf was president of Senegal he was against the apartheid. When the system of apartheid finished in South ofrica I decided to came

here although my parents thought that it wasn't a good idea because of the crime and that the influence of the apartheid wasn't finished. Despite of that we came here. I went first to Johannesburg where I was teaching Qu'ran and Arabic from 1996-1997, but they paid me very little and I decided to leave the teaching and to start trading. I went to Port Elisabeth and after that I came to Cape Town. At this time there were few Senegalese in Cape Town. At the beginning was very difficult. I started only with a small table selling wallets. After 1998 many Senegalese started to come.

TZ. Where did you learn Qu'ran?

IS. At the madrasa my father had in Kaolack. My mother used to teach there too. I started to learn it when I was 6 years old.

TZ. Why did you move to Gambia?

IS. My father's brother lived in Gambia and offered a house and to teach there where he lived. My father decided to go to Gambia.

TZ. Could you tell me the things you like in Cape Town?

IS. I like Cape Town because I can communicate in English with the people. Many people speak English here. There are many Muslims here too and they are friendly.

TZ. It is difficult for Senegalese people to get a visa?

IS. When I came first time it wasn't difficult. But now it is more difficult because they ask too many questions. People ask for holidays visa.

TZ. Do you think that the relationship of Mbeki and Abdulaye Wade has helped the Senegalese to come here?

IS. Mbeki and Wade are leaders who have different qualities. If they work together it will help the unity of Africa, but it is difficult to get a South African visa.

TZ. What kind of visa do you have?

IS. I've got my residence here.

TZ. Because you married a South African woman?

IS. Yes

TZ. How did you get the permission to have a trading post in this place?

IS. There is a South African Association called: "Grand Parade United Trading Association" which organizes the places here. If you become a member and pay an small amount of fees they give you a place to install your merchandise. These trading posts are difficult to work because of the weather. If there is a lot of wind, or rain or it is very cold it is sometimes impossible to stay there. South African

government has promised that they will upgrade this place to help the people, and several meetings have taken place, but for the moment nothing has changed.

TZ. Where do you get the merchandise from?

IS. Before we used to buy from wholesalers in Johannesburg, but now we buy from South African wholesalers in Cape Town. Some of them are coloured, black, white or Indian people.

TZ. There are any Senegalese wholesalers?

IS.. There are a few Ethiopians and Somalis who have started to be wholesalers, but I only know one Senegalese wholesaler, who is a Mouride.

TZ. What kind of merchandize does he sell?

IS. Belts, bags, sunglasses...

TZ. There is any general association for Senegalese people?

IS. Yes, there is one Senegalese association which has the South African flag and the Senegalese flag on the members' cards. Its goal is to help Senegalese people in Cape Town with problems of health or business or to repatriate the bodies of people who died here to Senegal. We meet more or less four or five times a year.

TZ. Who is the President, the vice... etc?.

IS. The name of the President is Ibrahima, the Vice-president name is Bele.

TZ. The President and the Vice-president are Tijani or Mourides?

IS. Both are Tijanis, but in the organisation there are many Mourides.

TZ. How many members has it?

IS. I'm not sure, a lot of people, may be around 300. The association not only helps the Senegalese, sometimes it helps South Africans who need it.

TZ. Where would you like your children to be educated, in South Africa or in Senegal?

IS. I would like my children to be educated here, because in South Africa there is better education and more opportunities than in Senegal.

TZ. Do you often travel to Senegal?

IS. I travel once every two years?

TZ. Does your wife travel with you?

IS. She came with me once.

TZ. Why don't Senegalese women come to South Africa?

IS. It is difficult to bring the women here. The life here is not easy for a woman. Most of the women who go to Europe find work in factories or in

restaurants. I only know one Senegalese woman in Cape Town. She is the wife of Modou Ndiang, who works in Green Market Square selling African art.

TZ. Most of the Senegalese here are traders, are there some Senegalese who have restaurants or other kind of business in Cape Town?

IS. Most of the Senegalese work as traders. South Africans say that foreigners take their jobs, but this is not true, because South Africans don't do the same work we do. Also because I work here I employ two South Africans in my two shops. In the place I live which is a big house, where some Senegalese people live we employ a woman to take care of the house too. If you count how many foreigners work here and how many people work for them, you'll see the role of foreigners. There is also another thing, when I came here 12 years ago very few people were doing business in the market, they didn't believe that it was possible to make a living from it, but we are giving the example that it can be done. Before they worked for us and now they have started their own businesses (he showed me another shop in front of his as an example))

TZ. Do you think that you influence South African people in another way?

IS. Some South African do wrong things, because they don't know. We meet them, we start to work with them. They used to be drunk,...and they started to abandon their bad habits. We change them, really change them.

TZ. What do you think about South Africans sending their children to study in Senegal?

IS. It is very important to sent children to Medina Bay. There are two South African children who went there to study Qu'ran and now they are *hafiz*.

TZ. After these years in this country do you feel South African?

IS. I feel South African because I'm living here, I married a South African woman, I have South African friends.

TZ. Do you send money to Senegal?

TZ. Yes, I send money to my parents and to my friends too.

TZ. Do you have a house in Senegal ?

IS. Yes, in Ndynekad

(The house he has in Cape Town is a rented house)

TZ. What is your relationship with the Mourides?

IS. The Mourides are more numerous than the Tijani. The Tijani and the Mourides are brothers. We have the same principles. All of us are Muslims. We have

the same basic principles. Our leaders are different and the ways of praising God are different. We have different *wirds* and *dhikrs*. We try to celebrate some religious events together.

TZ. Why didn't you celebrate the *mawlud* together this year?

IS. The reason is that there are many people in Guguletu who have difficulties to come to town to celebrate it, and we preferred to celebrate in Guguletu to make easier for the people.

TZ. Thank you very much.

Fakhruddin Owaisi .

Friday, 25.April 2008

Fakhruddin Owaisi is the imam of Hout Bay mosque. I met him in Hout Bay in the house of Susana Molins Lliteras. She and her husband were present at the interview.

I have not transcribed all the interview. I mainly transcribed the parts where he referred to the Tijanis in Cape Town and to the Mourides. I started to record him only when the interview had already began.

FO. I am also a *muqqadam*. I was the head of the delegation that went to Fez in Morocco to the International conference of the Tijaniyya last year, which had 1.500, sorry 2.500 muqaddams and shaykhs of the Tijaniyya from 45 countries, ...we were hosted by the Morocco government. I was part of the delegation. There were 20 people in the delegation who were representing every nation and tribes in South Africa. Meaning, there were Indians, but not only a type of Indians, but people from the Cocna, Shurti community, Indians from the Memmon community, Indians also from a lot of tribes and well known factions .. There were African brothers, there were Zulus, Khosa, Sutu, (Koenda) I counted and analysed them...their origins. And then there were people from the Malay community as well. In fact, in the delegation that went to the shaykh I was there as a foreigner emigrant in the country. The delegation that went, it was very well represented of all different people of South

Africa. That was... I think... the only one left was the Europeans. But there were many Europeans in Morocco from Spain, Italy, England and other countries.

In the South African context the Tijaniyya plays a very important role of creating integration between different nation and people in the South African context; something that many other tariqas are not being able to achieve. They are keeping the state of.... All the people are making *dhikr* and so on, but the racism is still there, lack of interaction is still there. The Tijaniyya is bonding the people together in this country and with Africa as well. The fact that the shaykh is a black man... It is the first time that you will see non-black, especially in the South African context, in the South African born Muslim, following an African man. Something very, very strange. No, really happenig! Because the racism isa problem in this country. Also I admired that..

People of all races were very welcomed by him (the cheikh). I went to Medina Bay, I am not black, they are black Senegalese African, but I didn't feel , you know, some stranger there, I felt that all this inclusiveness that the Prophet Muhammad "sallallahu wa saleem" use to have.....I found that in Cheikh Hassan. It was another aspect that attracted me to him,, but the most important aspect was his deep knowledge of Allah.

TZ. I am very interested in the way Cheikh Hassan Cisse brings his Mourides to *ma'rifa*.

FO.. Cheikh Hassan Cisse established the *zawiya* in this area ,in Guguletu to create integration and so on.

TZ. I would like to know your opinion of the Mourides?

FO. The Mourides? Amadu Bamba?

Strangely. before I got involved to the Tijaniyya, I was involved with the Muridiyya. I didn't take *baya* from them but I was very close to them. and I attended their *dhikr* on Saturdays in Cape Town, in Mowbray. They know me very well. For two or three years I used to attend their *tariqa*. To be very frank I wasn't so attracted to the spiritual aspect of the *tariqa* so much, to the deeper knowledge of this. I was attracted to the culture of Senegalese and I liked their *dhikr* . I mixed with them I know them very well. From this I can understand the Mouride community in Cape Town. The Senegalese are far more organized that the Tijaniyya in the Senegalese context but as far as South Africans are concerned, Mourides don't have many followers among South African Muslims. I am talking of Cape Town. In

Johannesburg I know there are African black Muslims who follow the Muridiyya. In Cape Town there are one or two, you can count with your fingers, who follow the Muridiyya.

Because the Mouride tariqa is very close, that is my assessment of them.. It is more of Wolof cultural team, they are not looking for to spread of the tariqa in the first place. They are not interested in bringing South Africans into the tariqa. It is not an universal movement like the *tariqa* Tijaniyya, which spread to Morocco, to Nigeria, to South Africa, Italy. It is not like that.. It is a cultural indigenous Senegalese movement with a Senegalese hero, Cheikh Amadu Bamba, *radiallahu anhu*, great friend of Allah. We belief in his sainthood, and he was a great *wali*. No doubt about that, but they (Mourides) are very organized.

I used to attend the *magal*, you know, they have a celebration for the *magal*, which is very big. If you go to there, 99% of the people there are Senegalese, one or two South Africans, few. But if you go to the *mawlud* of the Tijani, you will find fifty, fifty: fifty percent South Africans, fifty percent Senegalese. Some times there are more South Africans than Senegalese. Other than that we don't really have ...

.TZ. At the end of the conversation. I asked him again about the Mourides and he said:

“ The Mourides speak more about Amadu Bamba that about the Prophet sws.. The Mourides are not sometimes orthodox enough and this is the reason which makes them popular in South Africa.

Their relation with their shaykh is very submissive. Their cheikh is far from the *taliées*, and they approach their shaykh crawling in front of him..

The Mouride is a family dynasty. The Mbacké. Ordinary Mourides who don't belong to the family can't be spiritual leaders.

Fawkruddin considers that they don't have *ma'rifa*. (gnosis).

He said : “It is a cult of the cheikh. The shaykh, who can bring you to Allah, if you focus on him, can became a barrier between Allah and you. They are people from the Mourides in Senegal who are becoming Tijanis. The Mouride is a Wolof tariqa, they speak in Wolof, they maintain their Wolof culture, but they don't mix with the South Africans. The Tijani mix with them.

Cheikh Sadama Suleyman Diallo

Du village Pathê Gallo

Republique du Senegal

22 June 2008

The interview was in French in the house of an acquaintance from Cameroon, who live in Cape Town. Cheikh Sadama Suleyman is a Tijani and a member of the family of al-Hajj Umar Tall and cheikh Uthman dan Fodio. He is considered by this Cameroonian family as wise man who has visions, a “seer” who helps people to solve their personal or economic problems, and a healer. He lives in Pathê Gallo, a small village of Futa Toro in Senegal, where his family settled a long time ago. He comes often to the Cape to help this family for periods of time.

I gave him a brief outline about my interest on knowing his views about the Tijanji and the Mouride people, but I let him talk without asking many questions. I didn't tape the first part of his talk, which was focused on al-Hajj Umar Tall and his miracles. At the beginning Sadama Suleyman, like other Tijanis, was reluctant to give observations about the Mourides, in particular if they were negative

Cheikh Sadama Suleyman said:

“Amadu Bamba was a great Cheikh of Senegal. Allah gave him a lot of *baraka* and power. He wasn't only a Muslim, because a Muslim is somebody who prays only, but SAB had very strong belief.

Senegal has become a very remarkable Muslim country. But I don't want people to have confused ideas about the Mourides and the Tijanis. Because the Mourides are Muslims and the Tijani are Muslims. Some people think that the Tijani existed before the Mourides and that even Cheikh Amadu Bamba had followed the Tijani tariqa. Cheikh Amadu Bamba was familiar with al Hajj Malik and he also had some family among , 'the people of Futa'. He was first Cheikh Amadu Ba , and then Cheikh Amadu Bamba. He was somebody ... but there are many people in Senegal who are very remarkable people like him, although many people don't know them, because they are not known by name..

. When they say Almami Bu Bakara (he named many people) Ali Muhammad Sy, there were many important *ulama* in the past who did the *jihad*), but to make *jihad* doesn't mean to make war, there are many other ways to make *jiyad* ..When you lead people to the good way, when you explain to people the things said by God , you make *jihad*. But the things I said, all Senegalese people, all Senegalese whether they are here in Cape Town or in Durban, they know that Cheikh Umar is for all of us, that the Cheikh Amadu Bamba is for all of us, al-hajj Malik Sy is for all of us; the Almami Bu karkan, the Dimat is for all of us; Cheikh Suleyman Ball is for all of us;.... Is for all of us. The things I am going to say are that there were a million of *ulama* in Senegal, but some people know them, and other people don't know them. This is also a gift from Allah.

Senegal is a Muslim country and all the *ulama* in Senegal are for all of us. You can't separate the Mouride from the Tijani in Senegal, that is something impossible. Because they are people who marry each other, who live together, who respect each other, who know each other deeply. When you arrive in the house of Cheikh Malik Sy's people , and you ask, "Who was Cheikh Umar?" They know. When you arrive in the house of Cheikh Amadu Bambas's 's people , and you ask," Who was Cheikh Umar?" They know. When you arrived in the house of the umarian people if you ask , who was Cheikh Amadu Bamba, they know him. They know each other... It was the same father, the same mother is the same...

TZ. Here in Cape Town they work together

ChS,. They can work together.

TZ, They work together and if they have something to eat ..

ChS. . They share the food. It is like that

TZ They share, it, I saw it. All of them are Senegalese, but they are different.

ChS.. Of course they are different. I am going to explain to you why they are different. They are different here.

TZ. In Cape Town?

ChS. I don't know a lot about Cape Town. I am saying here in South Africa. Here they are a bit different because they don't consult together a lot. But in other places... I know everywhere... when the Mourides invite for the *magal*, everybody goes, not because they know such or such person, but because they are connected with Amadu Bamba who was a great man for us, a great and respected cheikh for us and....It is the same among the Mourides, when the umarians say that we have the *gamu*, the *gamu* is not for Cheikh Umar, the *gamu* is for all of us to celebrate the birth of Muhammad Rasullullah sallallahu aleyhi wa salim., the *mawlud*. This is the same when somebody calls for the *mawlud*, any Muslim, something which concerns the Prophet, is for everybody. It is not only for the Mourides or for the Tijanis it is for everybody.

The Tijanis don't have a lot of celebrations. They have the *mawlud*, the *dhikr*, the *wassif*, apart from that they don't have any more. That is. Among the Mourides it is different, because they have more programs. They have the *magal*. Also each one of the grandsons of Cheikh Amadu Bamba, have their celebrations, which are celebrated events. They celebrate another *magals*. This is not bad, because it is important to remind the people that in those places they remember the men of Allah. It is very important. That is. The things I am trying to say is that in Senegal there are a lot, a lot of the "alman", the Peul say "alman"... which in religion in Senegal were like kings. Cheikh Amadu, cheikh Ahmed, cheikh Amadu Modou was an *Imam*, a religious chief in Mali. He applied the Shary'a, this means that if you do wrong things he beats you, Do you understand? And at the same time he was ("adri" or Qadiri I don't understand), but he applied the Shary'a as the Qur'an says. His country was Mali, but the village where he built his palace, his mosque was....Hamdalaye (Mali). Now this village only is a name, there are no inhabitants there and it has become part of my history. He applied the Shary'a. If you have done something bad, they arrested you and brought you to the judge No matter who you were... they hanged you. He did that, all right?.

Dan Fodio was the same. He was somebody so strong... because Dan Fodio was very strong, good, he had the support of the whites... he had the support of many people because he was somebody that foreign countries knew in those times, Dan

Fodio..., the Moroccans, the Algerians, the French, the Germans... everywhere they knew him, particularly people from Great Britain in those times. This is something, which gave more strength, more than to cheikh Amadu Maudou.. Cheikh Maudou was the father of Amadu Maudou. Then, they decided that Cheikh Amadu had to build a palace. This happened like that in Mali.

Cheikh Umar didn't build a palace at his place. But in Mali, Segou, Unakari, Kai, there were places where Cheikh Umar established imams. In Senegal, I'm coming to that again, in the region, we call the region of Futa, from the place, we call Prodo until the border between Mali and Senegal there were a lot of imams, there were 39 imams, from Futa until the border of Mali with Senegal. There were 39 imams really well recognized, but there were two imams, who were the greatest, that means, the chiefs. Cheikh Suleyman Ball, was one. He was from the region of Baol. He made the war, but the war he fought it wasn't a war when you decide to fight the holy war. It was against the non-believers, the Moorish who were expelled from Mauritania. They stole the cattle and their king from Mauritania was called Horma. He sent his people to take the cattle and the gold from other close areas, but one year also sent them to collect taxes from poor people in this region (Baol?). This was the reason they fought the war, to reject their demands. He called the learned people in Islam to gather together in Futa. He made them sit together and he said(...)

The greatest were two: Cheikh. Suleyman Ball from Mbacké and Cheikh Almami Abdul kadri Kan. He was from Koppillo. This was the place where he was established. It is said that in this town, Koppillo, there were 199 ulama . When we speak of these things it is something ... these are the things the people said... Not 199, but 99 ulama or wali, who were there in this town. This is the reason that this town called the imam Cheikh Almami to make his place there, because there were a lot of Muslims in this town...

Not every Senegalese know this, the Senegalese from today know more about Cheikh Amadu Bamba, al.Hajj Malik, ...but they don't know this. In this time, there were few things written down.

TZ: People had very good memories

ChS. People had very good memories, but the thing I am going to say about Senegal, which I can't separate, is that there were the griots. These griots memorised everything, said everything which had happened, because they were like the journalists nowadays. At that time when the king, the imam went to war he needed

the griots behind him. The griots didn't fight, they were there to sit and to watch what was happening during the day. They observed. When you (the imam-king) came back home. He asked the griot, "What happened? How was the war? You won the war. Who ran away? Who was killed? And the griot would describe the events. The griots at this time didn't say the people were killed, they used a proverb. They said, "ten men stayed, ten men stayed", it was like that, they didn't say these people were killed.

In Sillo there were sharif

Mali, Guinea, and Senegal were strong countries. Mali was the place of *hafiz* of Qur'an. The people of Guinea were the people who knew about miracles, the place of marabouts who cure you, who made *duas* for you. Senegal was the place of the Shary'a. Now this has changed

Before Cheikh Umar, there were 39 imams, after Umar was 150 imams.

The most important learned men before al.Hajj Umar Tall were four:

Cheikh Abdul Qadir Kan : Koppillo

Cheikh Souleymane Ball: Mbacké

Cheikh Almami Aboubaker Kan: Dimath

Chiekh Alpha Omar Thierno Bayla: Kanet

These four imams were very important people who taught the people.

Almami Abukarkan le dimat

Cheikh Suleyman Ikbali

Hajj

Almami abdulkadri Kan from Koppillo

These people were very important and taught the people

He respected these cheikhs

We finished the interview and he said goodbye to me saying: "I don't know anything about politics.. "

26.06-2008

I visited Suleyman in their host's house another time . I did not tape this interview. The first part of the conversation was about some historical details and names from the previous talk.

He wrote the name of the most learned men before Cheikh Umar Tall

-Cheikh Aboul Ghadri Kan from Kopillo

Cheikh Souleymane Ball from Mbacké

Cheikh Al baboukar Kan from Dimat

Cheikh Alpha Omar-Tierno Bayla from Kanet

The *waliis* in Pathe Gallo

Al-Hadji Moadji Anne from Marda

Al-Hadji Mohamad Seyne from Airre

Al- Hadji MAmadu Mossa Ly from Dara

Al-Hadji Mohamad Mossa Ly from Dara

All-Hadji MohAmadu Lamine from Ba

TZ. I would like to come to Senegal at this time. What do you think of Abdulahi Wade?

ChS. Abdulahi Wade has concentrated on having power and on the marabouts who help him. He is not interested in the people. He doesn't do anything for them, because he is interested in getting power.. He creates confusion because he speaks too much. He utilises the religious authorities to get the vote from them. His government gives a lot of money to Touba and the people of Touba, and they give their vote to Wade.

He is not a true Senegalese. He is preparing his son to be the next ruler after him .

The Peuls are not happy. They want the President to speak the truth, but not a lot of meaningless talk. Wade's behaviour is not good. He has married a French woman. A Senegalese woman is not good enough to be the wife of the President of Senegal?

The Mourides are nothing. Many of the things they do are not what Cheikh Amadu Bamba wanted them to do. All those things are not right (He referred to the behaviour of the Mourides, some of whom treat Cheikh Amadu Bamba as the equal

to the Pprophet salallahu aleyhi was sallim)Wade takes all the money and helps Touba..

(He said something of the importance of Peuls throughout Western Africa compared to the Wolof). In Senegal the important people are the Peul and the Serer; In Guinea, the Peul and the Mandinke; in Mali the Peul and the Bambara.. The Peuls are very complicated. It is well known that if the Peuls are not happy... The Wolof! .We don't know them!

Wade doesn't deserve to be President of Senegal. He spoke well before he became President, but when he got the Presidency of the country he behaved like everybody before him.

TZ.. Why?

ChS. This is because he had hatred in his heart. He had waited a long time. When Abdou Diouf was president of Senegal the relationship between him and the Mouride and the Tijani was the same, but Abdou Diouf's mother was born in a Tijani family. In those times Wade belonged to the political opposition party. He had been in prison, and now he wants to have revenge on the people who didn't vote for him,

TZ. But the Tijanis didn't vote for him?

CHS. Mmmm Some yes, some no.

If Wade doesn't leave the power there is going to be war in Senegal. He got money from Saudi Arabia to help the country and he took it for himself to buy a private plane.

I am against him.. I don't mind saying this and I would tell him that if I was in front of him..

TZ. Thank you very much.

Glossary

adhan. (Arabic) The call to prayer.

baya'a. (Arabic) The act of swearing allegiance.

Dammel. (Wolof) Title of the king.

dara. (Wolof) Collective work group in service of the Shaikh (sometimes school).

dhikr. (Arabic) Lit. remembrance, mention. Commonly used, it means invocation of Allah by repetition of His names or particular formulae.

fatwa. (Arabic) Authoritative statement on a point of Muslim law.

fiqh. (Arabic) The science of application of the Islamic law, *Shari'a*.

Fulbe. Semi pastoral and pastoral people whose economy was based on raising cattle and other animals, and some time were engaged in farming. They lived in the margins, and they were not under control of the states. They often claimed to be "white" or "red". They spoke a language indigenous to the region. They were Muslims. (Robinson, *Paths of accommodation*. 78)

Futanke. They spoke the same language than the Fulbe but they were Muslims attached to the jihad and to the Islamic state.

hadith. (Arabic) Reported speech of the Prophet.

hafiz. (Arabic) Someone who has memorised the Qur'an.

jawin. (Wolof) Representative of the Shaikh.

Jihad. (Arabic) Struggle, particularly fighting in the way of Allah to establish Islam.

Jumu'a. (Arabic) The day of gathering, Friday and particularly the *Jumu'a* prayer which is performed instead of *Zuhr* by those who attend it.

Khalifa.. (Arabic) Successor. Head of holy lineage.

Khalifa-General.. Supreme head of brotherhood.

Laman. (Wolof) Title used by the rulers of the component states of the Jolof empire in the fourteenth century.

madhhab. (Arabic) A school of law founded on the opinion of the faqih.. The four main schools now are Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'I and Hanbali. The Shi'a also designate their fiqh as the Imami or Ja'fari madhab' after Ja'far as-Sadiq. Among the Shi'a, there are also the Akhbaris and the Usulis.

magal. In Wolof language means a celebration or an anniversary. As used by the Mourides, it denotes a religious gathering in honour of a spiritual leader.

marabout. Religious notable.

ma' rifa. (Arabic) Gnosis, direct, experiential knowledge of higher realities, witnessing the lights of the Names and Attributes of Allah in the heart..

Masjid. (Arabic) Mosque.

mawlid. or mawlud. (Arabic) A time, place and celebration of the birth of anyone, especially that of the Prophet.

munafiq. (Arabic) (Plural *munafiqin*). A hypocrite, someone who outwardly professes Islam on the tongue, but inwardly rejects it.

muqaddam. (Arabic) “One who is promoted”, the representative of the cheikh.

nafs. (Arabic) The self. Usually it refers to the lower self

njebbel. (Wolof) Act and formula of submission to the Shayikh.

qasida. (Arabic) Ode, poem.

ribat. (Arabic) The stronghold traditionally used by Muslims to prepare their *jihad* against the enemies of Islam, situated at exposed points of the frontier; later a *tariqa*-based centre of religious instruction.

Shari'a. (Arabic) Lit. road, the legal modality of a people based on the Revelation of their Prophet. The final Shari'a is that of Islam.

shaytan. (Arabic) A devil, particularly Iblis..

silsila. (Arabic) The chain, in Sufism is the continuity of the spiritual descent and transmission of wisdom from cheikh to shaykh from the Prophet.

tafsir. (Arabic) Exegesis. Commentary and explanation of the meanings of the Qur'an.

tak-der. (Wolof) Member of collective group.

talibé. (Wolof) Disciple

tarbiyya. (Arabic) Education

tasawwuf. (Arabic) Sufism, the science of the journey to the King.

tawhid.. (Arabic) Unity of God.

Tokolor. Name used by the French and Wolof for the Futanke of the middle valley of Senegal River. They spoke the same language than the Fulbe.

tyeddo, ceddo. (Wolof) Soldier.

Umma. (Arabic) The body of Muslims as one distinct community.

Wahhabi. (Arabic) Member of a sect dominant in Arabia whose earlier followers supported the family of Sa'ud..

wazifa.. (Arabic) Specific set of prayers.

wird. (Arabic) A regular spiritual exercise involving of a litany of *dhikr*, often some *ayats* of the Qur'an and specific prayers of each *tariqa*

zawiya.. (Arabic) Small mosque, or religious retreat, often where the shaykh teaches.

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